

**THE FATHERS
ACCORDING
TO RABBI NATHAN**

STUDIES IN JUDAISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY

JACOB NEUSNER

VOLUME ELEVEN

THE FATHERS
ACCORDING
TO RABBI NATHAN



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1975

THE FATHERS ACCORDING TO RABBI NATHAN

(ABOT DE RABBI NATHAN)

VERSION B

A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY BY

ANTHONY J. SALDARINI, S.J.



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IN MEMORY OF MY MOTHER
HARRIET BYRNE SALDARINI
1906-1973

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PREFACE

The translation of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, Version B, presented here will hopefully open up another Tannaitic text to a wide range of readers who do not read Mishnaic Hebrew. For the Hebraist the translation is an interpretation of a text which has been seldom studied in itself and distinctly from the traditional version of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*. The commentary will more often than not, open up matters for further study, rather than settle the many knotty problems connected with *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*. The problem which needs the most intensive study is, of course, the relationship of the two versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* to one another and to *Pirke Abot*. Much data and many comments on this problem are offered in the commentary but a synthetic study of the problem requires a separate monograph.

The work presented here was submitted in a slightly altered form to Yale University in candidacy for the PhD degree. I wish to thank first all those at Yale who helped and encouraged me during my years there. My thanks also to the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Bodleian Library and the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, Italy for providing me promptly with copies of manuscript materials. Professor Jacob Neusner of Brown University, the editor of this series, kindly accepted this work for publication and provided me with practical advice and encouragement. To him and also to Loyola University, the Society of Jesus of New England, The Max Richter Foundation, Providence, Rhode Island and Roger L. Saldarini go thanks for contributing to part of the printing costs of this volume. Finally, I thank Professor Judah Goldin, now of the University of Pennsylvania, who directed my research and consistently provided me with valuable advice and information. He has discussed problems with me, read my manuscript and offered me dozens of suggestions, corrections and references. With his guidance and example I have come to love the study of these texts.

Anthony J. Saldarini, S.J.

New Orleans, Louisiana
September 18, 1973

ABBREVIATIONS

I use standard abbreviations for the books of the Bible and the tractates of the Talmud (Mishnah and Tosefta). When a tractate is used alone it refers to the Babylonian Talmud. Ordinary abbreviations are used for periodicals. Listed below are other abbreviations not readily intelligible. Full reference to each work is found in the Bibliography.

A	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, Version A
Albeck	<i>The Six Orders of the Mishnah</i> (Hebrew text)
Alon, <i>Mehqarim</i>	<i>Studies in the History of Israel</i>
Alon, <i>Toledot</i>	<i>The History of the Jews in Israel during the Period of the Mishnah and Talmud</i>
ARNA	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, Version A
ARNB	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, Version B
Aruch	A. Kohut, <i>Aruch Completum</i>
B	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, Version B
Bacher	<i>Die Agada der Tannaiten</i> , followed by volume and page number
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>
Ben Yehuda	<i>Dictionary of the Hebrew Language</i> , followed by volume and page number
BerRab	Bereshit Rabbah
BH	Biblical Hebrew
Braude	Reference to his translation of Midrash on Psalms or Pesikta Rabbati, depending on context
Charles	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i>
Derenbourg	<i>Essai sur l'histoire de la géographie de la Palestine</i>
DtRab	Deuteronomy Rabbah, regular edition. Or Debarim Rabbah, a new version edited from Ms. by Lieberman
Eisenstein	<i>Otzar Midrashim</i>
ExRab	Exodus Rabbah
Finkelstein, <i>JBL</i> 57 (1938)	Introductory Study to <i>Pirke Abot</i>
Finkelstein, <i>Mabo</i>	Introduction to the Treatises Abot and Abot of Rabbi Nathan
G	Judah Goldin, <i>The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan</i>
GeseniusKC	<i>Hebrew Grammar</i>
Goldin, <i>Talmud</i>	<i>The Living Talmud : The Wisdom of the Fathers</i> (translation of Pirke Abot)
Hyman, <i>Toledot</i>	<i>The History of the Tannaim and Amoraim</i>
Jastrow	<i>A Dictionary of the Targumim</i>
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i>

Jellinek	<i>Bet Ha-Midrash</i>
Jer	The Jerusalem Talmud, followed immediately by the abbreviation for a tractate, the chapter and halakah number and page number of the Venice edition
Josephus, <i>Ant.</i>	<i>The Jewish Antiquities</i>
Josephus, <i>War</i>	<i>The Jewish War</i>
Krauss, <i>Lehnwörter</i>	<i>Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum</i>
Krauss, <i>Archaeologie</i>	<i>Talmudische Archaeologie</i>
<i>Legends</i>	Louis Ginzberg, <i>The Legends of the Jews</i>
LevRab	Leviticus Rabbah, followed by reference to Margulies edition
Levy	<i>Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i>
Lieberman, <i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek in Jewish Palestine</i>
Lieberman, <i>Hellenism</i>	<i>Hellenism in Jewish Palestine</i>
Mech	Mechilta de Rabbi Ishmael, quoted according to Biblical verse and the Lauterbach edition
MechRS	Mechilta de Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai, quoted, according to Biblical verse and the Epstein edition
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
MhM	Menorat Ha-Maor
Mid	Midrash
MidProv	Midrash on Proverbs
MidPs	Midrash on Psalms
MidTan	Midrash Tannaim
Mish	Mishnah
Moore	<i>Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, quoted by volume and page</i>
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
Neubauer, <i>Geographie</i>	<i>La Géographie du Talmud</i>
Neusner, <i>Life</i>	<i>A Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai</i>
NumRab	Numbers Rabbah
PA	Pirke Abot
PesRab	Pesikta Rabbati, quoted with the page number of the Friedmann Hebrew edition of Mandelbaum and translation of Braude
Schechter	<i>Aboth de Rabbi Nathan</i> , the Hebrew text
Schechter, <i>Aspects</i>	<i>Aspects of Rabbinic Theology</i>
Sohurer	<i>A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus</i>
SedOlRab	Seder Olam Rabbah
SedElRab	Seder Eliahu Rabbah; SedElZut — Zuta
SifreDt	Sifre on Deuteronomy, followed by reference to Finkelstein edition
SifreNum	Sifre on Numbers, followed by reference to Horovitz edition

Soncino	The translation of the Babylonian Talmud published by the Soncino Press
SongRab	Song of Songs Rabbah
Strack	<i>Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash</i>
T-A	J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, <i>Bereshit Rabbah</i>
Tan	Tanhuma
TanBub	Tanhuma according to the Buber edition
Taylor	<i>The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers</i> , quoted according to volume and page
Tos	Tosefta, followed by the tractate name and numbering according to Zuckerman's edition
Weiss, <i>Dor</i>	<i>Dor Dor ve Dorshaw</i>
Wertheimer	<i>Batte Midrashim</i>
Yalkut	Yalkut Shimoni

INTRODUCTION

THE TRANSLATION

Over eighty years ago Solomon Schechter published a second version of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*¹ (The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan). This second version is clearly different from the traditional version of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* in content and in phrasing. Yet similarities in theme and structure show that the two versions are related. Since Schechter's time no full translation or treatment of the second version of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* (henceforth referred to as ARNB) has been written. This volume provides that translation and commentary.

The translation aims at accurate and idiomatic English. Where an interpretation has been made or a very idiomatic rendering given, it is noted in the commentary. An occasional word or phrase has been added in parentheses. This is usually something clear in the Hebrew idiom or technical language which requires a fuller phrasing in English. If the clarification involves more than what is obvious, a note is provided. In a dialogue or a complex sentence where antecedents or referents of personal pronouns become obscure in English, I have inserted the name of the speaker or referent. I have used the RSV for Scriptural quotes, unless the Rabbi's understanding of the Hebrew requires a different translation. Since ARNB is a commentary on *Pirke Abot* (henceforth PA), it contains within it a version of PA. Insofar as this version of PA coincides with the version found in the Mishnah, I have used Judah Goldin's translation of PA with some changes of style or phrasing.² Where clauses or whole sayings differ, I have made my own translation.

MANUSCRIPTS

This volume does not include a critical edition of ARNB. Schechter's edition was the first attempt to critically edit a rabbinic text, but new

¹ *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, edited from Manuscripts with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices by Solomon Schechter (Vienna, 1887). I have used the 1967 reprint by Philipp Feldheim, Publisher with over 50 printing errors corrected. Schechter has Versions A and B in parallel columns with notes at the bottom of the page.

² Judah Goldin, *The Living Talmud : The Wisdom of the Fathers*. (New York : Mentor paperbacks, 1957). It is referred to as *Talmud*.

materials and methods demand that his work be reviewed and corrected. Louis Finkelstein has promised us the much needed critical edition.³

I have followed Schechter's text in general, with variations from it noted in the commentary. I have utilized Finkelstein's *Mabo* as a rich source of corrections. In difficult places I have consulted copies of manuscripts, sometimes changing Schechter's text and sometimes noting the variants in the commentary. The manuscripts are few and often difficult. I have no doubt that the eye of an expert in modern textual criticism will discern many better readings and offer better emendations of impossible passages than the suggestions found in Schechter.

I will briefly identify all the manuscripts and sources which I consulted. Finkelstein describes them in greater detail in his *Mabo* and charts out a stemma for them (p. 211). Schechter also describes them in his Introduction (pp. xxix-xxx).

Ms. R (Romi) : This is a Vatican manuscript (Assemani #303, folios 195-221). It formed the basis of Schechter's text.

Ms. P (Parma) : This is a manuscript found in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, Italy (deRossi #327, the eleventh work in the Ms.). Some readings from this manuscript were copied out for Schechter and included by him in Appendix 3.

Ms. H (Halberstam) : This manuscript is found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is Neubauer 2635 (Ms. Heb. c. 24), folios 1-334. The whole work is the *Mogen Abot*, a commentary on Version A of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* by Yom Tov ben Moses Şahalon (17th century). In it he quotes extensively from ARNB, using mostly the introductory phrase *ms'ty nwsħ' 'hrt* (I found another text). Ms. H does not contain the whole of ARNB, but it does include many extensive citations.

Ms. N (Neve Shalom) : This work has been printed from cod. Heb. Munich 222 in *Neweh Shalom I* by Solomon Taussig (Munich, 1872). Long sections from ARNB are included among the selections in this book.

Ms. G-1 (Geniza) : This is one page of manuscript from the Geniza materials-Neubauer-Cowley 22, 2674 (Ms. Heb. d. 45), folio 70. It covers part of Schechter, pp. 19-20 (Chs. 6 and 7).

³ Louis Finkelstein, *Mabo le-Massektot Abot ve-Abot d'Rabbi Nathan* (Introduction to the Treatises Abot and Abot of Rabbi Nathan) (New York, 1950), English summary, p. xxvi. He has gathered many materials and worked out the relations of the Mss. to one another. Henceforth it is referred to as *Mabo*.

Ms. G-2 (Geniza) : Neubauer-Cowley 9, 2634 (Ms. Heb. C. 18), folios 23-27. It goes from p. 120 to p. 128 with a large gap (probably a page containing Chs. 43-46 has been lost).

MhM (Menorat Ha-Maor) : Schechter quoted from the manuscript of this extensive collection of thematically arranged quotes. I use the edition of H. G. Enelow in four volumes (New York, 1930-32).

MhM quotes from both Version A and Version B of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* (henceforth ARN). These citations are indexed in Enelow's edition.

Other authors have cited ARNB, but not as extensively as Ms. N and MhM. I used the Sheiltot in Ch. 19 of ARNB. For other citations of ARNB and references to ARNB, see Schechter's Introduction, pp. viii-xvi.

As noted above, Schechter followed Ms. R. He includes in brackets in his text readings from either Ms. H or Ms. N (mostly these readings are commented on in the notes). In Appendix 3 he has readings from Ms. P and corrections. He also refers occasionally to MhM in his notes. I have always taken his comments into account when adjudicating a difficult text.

When I compare the Hebrew of the Mishnaic Tractate *Pirke Abot* to ARNB, I use the edition of Albeck-Yalon.⁴

THE COMMENTARY

The commentary is in the form of notes to the translation, chapter by chapter. Notes sometimes refer to individual words or phrases or to whole paragraphs. ARNB is referred to by chapter and by page in Schechter's edition. In the translation, the beginning of each page in Schechter's edition is noted in the margin.

The commentary aims primarily to explain difficulties in ARNB itself. Comparative materials from ARNA and from many other sources are noted and often utilized to explain difficulties. The structure of ARNB and the relationships of parts to one another is pointed out. Louis Finkelstein's theories about the original form and structure of PA and ARN in both versions are constantly consulted.⁵

I am acutely aware that detailed studies of individual sections of

⁴ Henoah Albeck and Henoah Yalon, *šišah Sidre Ha-mišnah*, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1958.

⁵ See especially Mabo and Finkelstein, "Introductory Study to *Pirke Abot*," *JBL* 57 (1938), 13-50.

ARNB and especially comparisons with ARNA are imperative. A beginning has been made by Finkelstein in his *Mabo* and by Judah Goldin in a series of articles often referred to in the commentary. This commentary contains further material useful for such a study and makes some comments which contribute to this task. But the bulk of the work remains to be done. The composite nature of ARNB makes overall conclusions about the work's character, composition, tendencies and themes very difficult. Hopefully a basis has been laid for further work in this area.

THE OVERALL CHARACTER OF ARNB

ARN is a unique literary work. It does not fit precisely into traditional categories of Jewish Literature. As a further complication, ARNB itself is a composite of several parts which differ one from the other. As a consequence no one term or category can characterize the whole work.⁶ ARN has been categorized with the minor tractates of the Talmud because it usually precedes them in the Talmud. Yet, in structure and content it is very different from them. Scholars who have written about ARN have disagreed on the name by which they characterized it.⁷

I divide ARNB into three sections and categorize each. (This tripartite division is not my final division of it. See below under "Mode of Composition".) I will first use descriptive terms to characterize each of the three parts and then compare each of the parts with the nearest categories of traditional Jewish literature.

Chs. 1-30 of ARNB are mostly a commentary on PA 1-2. Each saying or part of a saying is followed by one or several fairly brief comments, interpretations of Scripture, parables, or stories. These comments center around the theme of the saying or some difficulty connected with understanding the saying. Many of the chapters have either brief

⁶ See the different names Schechter gives to the four parts which he distinguishes (pp. xvi-xvii).

⁷ Zunz (*Vorträge*, p. 108) calls ARN a Baraita. Several scholars characterize it as a Tosefta; Weiss, *Dor*, II, p. 224; Strack, p. 73; D. Hoffmann, "Die erste Mishna und die Controversen der Tanna'im," *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin*, 181-82, p. 27. Schechter (pp. xvi-xvii) calls Chs. 1-30 a midrash, Chs. 31-35 a mishnah, and Chs. 36-48 a mishnah and tosefta. Goldin develops the idea that ARN is a midrash to PA (pp. xviii-xix). But in that it includes a different version of PA and has a different organization, ARN may be looked on as a tosefta "for in style and composition it often supplements the material of PA" as the Tosefta supplements the Mishnah (p. xx).

or substantial digressions based upon the Scriptural verse being used in commentary or based upon the sage being quoted or upon some related theme.

Since Chs. 1-30 are mainly a commentary, either Midrash or Talmud spring to mind as fit categories for them. I prefer to characterize Chs. 1-30 overall as a midrash. True, the commentary is on a mishnah and therefore similar to the Talmud. But it lacks the close and extensive argumentation (usually halakic) of the Talmud. It is more brief than the Talmud and closer to the original text being commented on and to the theme brought up by that text. Furthermore, in contrast to the Talmud ARNB is written in Hebrew, not Aramaic and the materials contained in it are Tannaitic, not Amoraic.

ARN is like a Midrash in that it makes mostly brief comments on the text and uses Scriptural verses extensively in its explanations and proofs. It is organized in a way similar to the expository midrashim, Bereshit Rabbah and Lamentations Rabbah, rather than according to theme, as in the homiletical midrashim. In addition, it contains only three comments in the names of Amoraim.⁸

ARNB in Chs. 1-30 (and in the following chapters, too) does not manifest a consciousness different from that of PA, on which it comments. That is to say, the authors or compilers of ARN show no consciousness that they are commenting on an earlier, canonical text, as do the authors of the Talmud in respect to the Mishnah or the authors of the Midrash in respect to Scripture. They do not reconcile the seemingly contradictory statements of sages, as the Talmud does nor show extraordinary reverence for the text as does the Midrash for scripture.

Chs. 31-35 contain a good part of the sayings from PA 3-4 along with a number of other sayings by the same sages and their contemporaries or sayings similar in theme. The collection itself as it exists in Chs. 31-35 has its own structure and organization, as do the collections in Chs. 3-4 of PA. This collection does not distinguish between those sayings which belong to PA and those which do not. Consequently, Chs. 31-35 are not really a commentary on PA but more like a Tosefta containing additional material parallel to or at variance with the Mishnah. Unlike the Tosefta, however, Chs. 31-35 contain the Mishnah itself as an integral and equal part of the collection. If we did not have PA as a separate

⁸ Only three Amoraim are cited in ARNB : Abba in Ch. 25 (p. 52); Rabbi Jannai in Ch. 33 (p. 73) = PA 4:15; and Rabbi Jeremiah in Ch. 36 (p. 91).

source, we could not distinguish its sayings from the other sayings in Chs. 1-35. This phenomenon probably occurs because ARNB was begun and at least roughly in shape before the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah the Prince was formulated and promulgated (c. C.E. 200).⁹ Or perhaps it reflects the feeling that, while the normative and non-normative halaka had to be clearly distinguished (in Mishnah and Tosefta), haggadic materials need not be so carefully set apart and orchestrated.

Chs. 36-48 contain most of the material from PA 5. Almost all the sayings are "Numerical Sayings", that is, groups of things introduced by a formula which gives the number of items to be contained in the list or group. The sayings in this section are organized by number and by theme and show evidence of various collections having been brought together. As in the previous part of ARNB, the material from PA is not distinguished. This third section also contains some commentary similar to that found in Chs. 1-30.

Can ARN as a whole be given one name or put in one category of literature. I think we are more accurate in characterizing each of its three parts, as was done above. But, if we must give it one name from the categories of traditional Jewish literature, then the best name is midrash. In contemporary terminology, commentary is perhaps the most adequate descriptive term. ARN attempts to elucidate the meaning of the sayings contained in PA. In order to accomplish this purpose, it adds and collects other sayings which are similar to the materials already there. The commentary maintains its general purpose throughout, but it contains many digressions, identifiable units of material, and interpretations of Scripture which are peripheral and cannot be brought under any one category.

AUTHOR

Who is Rabbi Nathan in the title "The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan" (*Abot de Rabbi Nathan*)? Did he actually write "The Fathers"? Schechter begins his introduction with a quotation from a twelfth century French scholar,¹⁰ who wonders why ARN is named after Rabbi Nathan. Sometimes a work is named for the first sage mentioned in it. But in Version A Rabbi Nathan is only the third cited.¹¹ In Version B Rabbi Nathan is first quoted in Ch. 34 (p. 76).

⁹ See the section on "Date".

¹⁰ Rabbi Jacob bar Simeon on p. vi of Schechter's introduction.

¹¹ According to Goldin (ARNA, p. xx) Jonathan is almost certainly intended. The

Modern scholars have generally doubted Rabbi Nathan's authorship and have recognized that ARN is composed of several discrete parts with many more additions made at different stages. Consequently, the concept of one author of a unified whole has been rejected, though Rabbi Nathan may have a place in some stage of the formation of ARN.

Zunz holds that Rabbi Nathan probably authored the Baraita of Rabbi Nathan and the Treatise of the 49 Middot, the two basic collections in ARN.¹² Weiss doubts that Rabbi Nathan authored ARN. He quotes the *Mechilta* to Ex. 18:27 (Lauterbach, II, p. 186) that Rabbi Nathan's teaching was lost; he further cites Zunz and also argues that ARN is of later date than Rabbi Nathan.¹³ Frankel suggests that Rabbi Nathan, whose name is associated with numbered lists, probably wrote PA 5 and also the Treatise of the 49 Middot.¹⁴ Schechter speculates that the form of PA found in ARN (as distinct from that found in the *Mishnah* of Rabbi Judah the Prince) may have been written by Rabbi Nathan.¹⁵

Finkelstein sees ARN as made up of a number of collections, some from the first century and some later. Since he sees a Shammaite tendency in the work, especially in the first collection (Chs. 1-27 of ARNB), he allows that Rabbi Nathan, a member of the School of Ishmael, which had a Shammaite tendency, might have had a hand in forming ARN.¹⁶ Goldin says succinctly, "Nothing can be said with certainty about the identity of the 'Nathan' in the title of ARN or about the exact nature of his relation to this work." Nathan might be the Babylonian, Judah the Prince's contemporary, or he might be some unknown sage.¹⁷

In the end we are driven to consider how and when ARN was composed. If, as seems likely from modern research, it is compiled of several collections with many additions, then we must trace the deve-

"Jo-" (*yw*) was probably dropped out of reverence for God's name. Rabbi Nathan the Babylonian was Ab Beth Din under Simeon ben Gamaliel II and later frequently debated with Rabbi (Strack, p. 117).

¹² Zunz, *Vorträge*, pp. 109 and 91-92.

¹³ Weiss, *Dor*, II, p. 225.

¹⁴ Z. Frankel, *Darke Ha-Mishnah* (reprinted Jerusalem, 1959), p. 201.

¹⁵ Schechter, p. xxvi.

¹⁶ See Finkelstein, *JBL* 57 (1938), p. 16 and for the late Shammaite tendencies, *Akiba*, p. 297.

¹⁷ Goldin, ARNA pp. xx-xxi.

lopment of the tradition and any possible interventions of individuals or schools of thought. And yet, we are left with the title "The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan." We do not know whether this name was given to the work at a late date, or at a time close to when it was composed. And we are not sure whether there is perhaps some real significance to the title which escapes us.

MODE OF COMPOSITION

Because we have two versions of ARN (and three of PA) we are able to trace at least some of the stages of ARN's development relative to each other. Both versions of ARN are a commentary on a text which we call PA. The texts of PA found in the two versions of ARN and in the mishnaic PA¹⁸ differ in many striking ways and yet are still the same work. The forms of PA found in the two versions of ARN are very similar to each other, but differ in several respects from the mishnaic tractate PA. The mishnaic PA has additions and a structure which suggest that it is later than the text of PA found in ARN.

Both similarities and differences between the two versions of ARN and the three of PA are extensive and strong. They suggest that all versions began as a unified whole which gave a structure and basic content to the work. This agreement in structure and content (see below) argues strongly for this early, unified (oral?) stage. Then, ARNA, ARNB and PA broke away from each other and developed further with additions, subtractions and reshaping.

The wording of PA, found in all three versions of PA, is substantially identical. It must have been stabilized early, before the versions were each able to take a course of their own. The mishnaic PA could be added to and rearranged, but the elements common to all three remained almost identical. As with the other halakot which were compiled to form the Mishnah, the sayings of PA were transmitted exactly.¹⁹

Not so the two versions of ARN. Even when they have the same

¹⁸ PA is used in two senses, according to context. In its specific sense it refers to the mishnaic tractate as we have it in Rabbi Judah the Prince's Mishnah. In its wider sense it refers both to that version and to two other closely related versions of the same tractate, found respectively in ARNA and ARNB. L. Finkelstein has thoroughly analyzed the relations of many passages in these three versions in his *Mabo* (pp. 4-5 and passim).

¹⁹ See Henoah Albeck, *Mabo le-Mishnah*. Jerusalem, 1959, Ch. 6, pp. 99ff. for the idea that previous collections of mishnayot were used in Rabbi's Mishnah and taken over exactly as they were.

interpretation or story in the same relative place, the two versions seldom achieve verbal identity. This argues to the conclusion that the themes and items were established but that the exact wording was not. Consequently, ARNA and ARNB broke away from one another and developed, while the commentary was still being transmitted (and formed) orally.²⁰ This conclusion agrees with the evidence that the Mishnah was long transmitted orally because writing down anything but Scripture was considered inappropriate.²¹

Further evidence for this oral mode of composition of ARN can be gleaned from its structure. Following Finkelstein, I distinguish five major sections in ARN and PA:²²

<i>PA</i>	<i>ARNB</i>	<i>ARNA</i>
1. Ch. 1	Chs. 1-27	Chs. 1-13
2. Ch. 2	Chs. 28-30	Chs. 14-17
3. Ch. 3	Chs. 31-32	Chs. 18-22
4. Chs. 3-4	Chs. 33-35	Chs. 23-30
5. Ch. 5	Chs. 36-48	Chs. 31-41

These divisions occur in all three works, even though different forces caused many changes in internal structure and in transitions. If they had begun as written works, then much more verbal similarity would have been preserved. However, the oral transmission of a gradually diverging tradition allows for a common structure with which they all began and for changes in the wording of the common material, addition of further material and rearrangement of contents.²³ Yet, with all the variety in the two versions of ARN, both versions, all the way through, have many of the same interpretations in the same relative place.

²⁰ Schechter (pp. xxff.) held that there was one original written text which scribes and copyists changed and added to. But the changes seem too extensive for the development of a written text. For the thesis that two versions developed orally, see Finkelstein, *JBL* 57 (1938), pp. 16-17.

²¹ Lieberman (*Hellenism*, pp. 83-99) summarizes the evidence for the Mishnah. See Finkelstein, *JBL* 57 (1938), p. 17, n. 9 for the late writing down of the Tannaitic midrashim.

²² See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, n. 5 and the whole organization of his book. In *JBL* 57 (1938) he dealt only with four of these original collections and just mentioned the fifth and several others in a note. Schechter combines four and five (they are similar in form). See p. xvi.

²³ Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 111-12) speculates, with some degree of probability, that the haggadic nature of PA stimulated many to form popular interpretations and stories and that these quickly collected around PA.

Because Version A and Version B are different in many sections, they must have developed for a significant period of time separately. We could increase our comprehension of ARN if we were able to isolate clear stages in its growth. However, I see no consistent phenomena throughout ARNB which allow use to separate out two or more different groups of matter which can be assigned to different stages. In other words, I do not find one kind of interpretation (of an early date) running through the whole and then another kind of saying from a later stage inserted alongside the first. I distinguish here the idea of strata which extend throughout the whole work from the collections of material isolated by Finkelstein. The latter are limited to one section of ARN. The former would be common to all sections and aid in dating and analyzing the work as a whole.

When I consider the process of ARNB's formation, I do find evidence for a time when it began to exist as a commentary to PA with its basic structure and then a time when it was substantially complete (minus a few passages, possibly). These two stages are related to the similarities and differences between the two versions of ARN, as described above, and will be further elucidated below in the section on "Date". Even so, these two "moments" can only be approximately defined and imprecisely dated. They do not give an adequately detailed picture of ARN's development.

Let us now turn to the opinions of other scholars. Schechter suggests that ARN originally arose as a commentary to PA in an earlier form. ARN collected haggadic comments on the popular sayings contained in PA.²⁴ He holds that there was an original (written) ARN, which we no longer have. From it, two other forms of ARN were composed, first ARNA and then ARNB. The two versions we have now have been added to and changed extensively. ARNA, since it was more current, was changed more. Consequently, ARNB is closer to the original ARNB than ARNA is to the original ARNA.²⁵

²⁴ Schechter, pp. xxv-xxvi. Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 111-12 agrees that this dynamic was at work producing interpretations.

²⁵ Schechter, pp. xx and xxiv. Evidence is presented to prove only that B, as we have it, is less corrupt than A. That is, B is closer to its original form than A is to its own original form. No proof is presented for Schechter's other contention (on p. xx) that ARNA is earlier than ARNB. Presumably this meant that ARNA was composed (using the lost ARN, a written document that was the origin of our two documents) before ARNB was composed. Perhaps Schechter drew this conclusion because ARNA became

L. Finkelstein holds that PA and both versions of ARN developed orally and he links their growth and form closely to one another. ARNB has more often, but not in every case, preserved the more original form of the tradition.²⁶ PA-ARN is made of individual collections, according to Finkelstein, some original to the structure and some added.²⁷ Using these collections as a framework, Finkelstein is able to analyse a variety of phenomena and to establish an approximate relative chronology for the different collections.

LANGUAGE

The Hebrew of ARN, both A and B, reads like standard Mishnaic Hebrew of the Tannaitic period.²⁸ It contains a few Aramaic sentences and is studded with Greek terms, common to Tannaitic midrashim.

In the commentary I explain odd expressions, technical terms and unusual idioms. Greek and Latin words are traced, usually with the help of Krauss or Lieberman.²⁹ I do not, however, make a thorough linguistic study of ARNB. Such a study awaits, first, a thorough critical edition of the text. Then, a careful study of vocabulary, morphology, and syntax must be carried out, in comparison with other texts. Such a study is treacherous, since fine points of style and nuances of usage are hard to isolate rigidly. What may be a characteristic expression or a study is treacherous, since fine points of style and nuances of usage are hard to isolate rigidly. What may be a characteristic expression or form of one period in Hebrew literature may still occur in others. J. N. Epstein has studied the terminology of the Mishnah and midrashim,³⁰ but even there the criteria are complex and often unclear.³¹

The manuscripts themselves impede us further. Many are poorly

the traditional version and underwent greater development and textual corruption. He may imply, in other words, that ARNA had a head start.

Note, incidentally, that Finkelstein (*JBL* 57 [1938], p. 17, n. 9) states incorrectly that Schechter considered ARNB to be the "more original" version.

²⁶ *JBL* (1938), especially pp. 14-17.

²⁷ *JBL* 57 (1938), p. 15, n. 5. He analyzes these collections in the article and in *Mabo*.

²⁸ See Goldin, ARNA, p. xxi and Finkelstein, *Mabo*, Introduction, first unnumbered page.

²⁹ Krauss wrote *Lehnwörter* and Lieberman wrote *Greek and Hellenism*, plus numerous articles.

³⁰ See J. N. Epstein, *Mabo le-Nusah ha-Mishnah* (Jerusalem, 1948; 2 ed., 1964) and *Mebo'ot le-Sifrut Ha-Tannaim* (Jerusalem, 1957).

³¹ S. Lieberman, *Midrash Debarim Rabbah* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. xxii-xxiii, where he finds fault with some of Epstein's norms for distinguishing the language of the two Talmuds. (I owe this reference to Goldin, ARNA, p. xxi, n. 13).

copied with many errors. Furthermore, the style and forms of the Hebrew have been evened out in many cases so that characteristics of the Hebrew of a certain place or period are lost to what is more familiar to the copyist. E. Y. Kutscher has taught us that we can only precisely describe, locate and date Hebrew forms and syntax when we work from reliable manuscripts which have undergone little corruption.³²

The language, then, cannot at present precisely locate ARN in time and place. ARNB is not rife with expressions found in the later midrashic collections.³³ The bulk of ARNB's language and style is standard Mishnaic Hebrew which neither proves nor denies an early or late date for it.

DATE

In dating ARN we must attend to the stages that it went through, as outlined in the section on "Mode of Composition". ARN probably developed orally toward its written form over a significant period of time. Parts of ARN probably joined the main text at different times, and so if any individual comment is to be dated, it must be studied in itself, in relation to ARN and in comparison to parallels in other rabbinic literature. Even then, absolute dates are few and evidence for relative dating unsure.

Because ARN is a unique class of commentary (see the section on its "Character" above), it cannot be connected closely to any other type of rabbinic literature and dated as a whole by comparison with it. For example, we know when the Mishnah received its final form (substantially) and we also know approximately when the Talmuds were completed. The halakot of the Tannaitic Midrashim are quoted in such a way in the Talmuds that they were most probably completed around the time of the formation of the Mishnah. Bereshit Rabbah and Lamentations Rabbah have much common material with other midrashim and by a series of close comparisons can be shown to be relatively earlier than them. None of these methods of relative dating work with ARN.

³² E. Y. Kutscher, "Lešon Hazal" in *The Henoch Yalon Jubilee Volume*, ed. S. Lieberman, Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 246-80 where he calls them *Abot-Textim*. See also Kutscher, "Mittelhebräisch und Jüdisch-Arāmäisch in Neuen Köhler-Baumgartner", in *Hebräische Wortforschung*, Baumgartner Festschrift, Leiden, 1967, pp. 158-75.

³³ Weiss lists only a few late expressions in A (*Dor*, II, p. 225, n. 1) and they could have been added.

Since ARN precedes the minor, non-canonical tractates in the Talmud, it has often been classified with them and also dated with them roughly to the seventh through ninth centuries. However, such a classification does not do justice to ARN and does not prove its date.

ARNB, Ch. 19, contains three stories, two of which also occur in the Sheiltot of Rab Ahai Gaon who flourished in the middle of the eighth century.³⁴ The Sheiltot has the stories as recounted in ARNB, and not as recounted in Shab 127b where variants of the three stories occur in the same order as in ARNB. From this we can conclude that the Sheiltot probably quotes ARNB. This provides us with an upper limit for the existence of ARNB.

We do not have much further hard data which allow us to date ARN. We may compare various materials in ARN with their parallels in other literature and attempt to see if one version preceded another. This method can sometimes give us an approximate date for a saying or story. But many of these materials probably existed orally as independent units and an earlier version of a story may be preserved by a work that is on the whole later. Thus, the data culled do not allow us to attribute ARN, as a whole, to a specific period. All arguments based on internal data and comparisons (especially when many of the comparative materials themselves have no absolute date) are only possible or probable. Factors unknown to us may have caused the formation of a work such as ARN, or part of it, especially since our knowledge of the first few centuries of our era is so scanty.

Keeping these warnings in mind, I would like to argue that ARN, in an early form, existed as a commentary to PA before the formation of the Mishnah in C.E. 200. Both versions of ARN, as we have them, have as a core a form of PA different from that adopted by Rabbi Judah the Prince in C.E. 200 when he promulgated his one, official Mishnah. If a commentary to PA had been begun after Rabbi Judah the Prince had promulgated his official Mishnah, then surely the commentary would have been built around this authoritative tractate. But we can see clearly that ARN, in both its versions, is a commentary on an earlier and less extensive form of PA. And further, this early form of PA survived alongside the official, later version of PA, some-

³⁴ See Sheiltot, ed. Samuel Karman and Moshe Mirsky, Jerusalem, 1964, Vol. 3, *Shemot*, Section 42, p. 13. For Ahai's dates, see M. Waxman, *A History of Jewish Literature* (New York, 1960), p. 281. This is the earliest quotation from ARN (Goldin, ARNA p. xxii, n. 18).

thing which happened with no other Mishnaic tractate.³⁵ The commentary already had its overall structure, based on the earlier form of PA, and so could not be changed. And it in turn protected its version of PA from suppression in the face of the official form of PA.³⁶ These arguments only pertain to ARN as probably existing with approximately the same structure as it has now. It may have been in a much earlier and less extensive form. The argument does not automatically allow us to prove that any individual passage of ARN is from the Tannaitic period.

This kind of argument is extremely dangerous because it is based on logic and the few facts available. Often factors which we do not take into consideration or about which we have no knowledge could have existed and been of crucial importance. Yet, in view of the phenomena and the evidence before us, this argument seems to me at least possible and reasonable.

One objection to this argument is that PA, since it was a haggadic rather than halakic tractate of the Mishnah (the only such one), might have been allowed to exist in another form after the formation of the Mishnah. If this is the case, ARN might have been begun after C.E. 200 and might have been structured around a non-official (and perhaps more familiar or popular) version of PA. We know that the Rabbis were much more careful with halakic material than haggadic; they preserved its wording more carefully, recorded accurately the sages to whom it was attributed, and distinguished clearly authoritative and dissident teachings. Rabbi Judah the Prince's official Mishnah drew upon and replaced many mishnah collections, which then were lost. A haggadic tractate like PA might have survived because it was not as crucial as the halakic tractates. Yet, it would still be odd if a commentary, and not just one, but two, were written on a non-canonical form of PA after the official one was accepted.

What is the earliest date that ARN could have existed with the structure outlined in the section on "Mode of Composition". Since

³⁵ For research which shows that earlier collections of mishnayot were made and then assimilated into later ones and lost, see Henoah Albeck, *Mabo le-Mishnah* (Jerusalem, 1959), especially chapters 4-6; and J. N. Epstein, *Mabo le-Nusah Ha-Mishnah* and *Mabo'ot le-Sifrut Ha-Tannaim*. Epstein studies variations in versions and texts, terminology and other minutiae which allow him to see the stages in composition of the Mishnah and Tosefta.

³⁶ Both Schechter, pp. xxv-xxvi and Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 111-12 see ARN beginning as a group of comments on the popular haggadot contained in PA. Its non-halakic nature allowed it to grow freely.

Rabbi Akiba and the generation after him play a large part in the comments on various sayings, approximately C.E. 160 is probably the earliest possible date for the existence of ARN as an organized (though incomplete) whole. But we can by no means prove that ARN *did* come into existence at this time.

Finkelstein dates the five documents underlying PA to the first or second century by a meticulous examination of details of the three versions of PA. Occasional materials in ARNA or B are shown to be early (see *Mabo*, pp. 21-24), but such evidence is not plentiful. Finkelstein further speculates, using the title of ARN, that Rabbi Nathan, who had been Ab Beth Din under Simeon ben Gamaliel II, might have composed ARN in reaction against Rabbi Judah the Prince because Rabbi ignored the office of Ab Beth Din and Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, who had been Ab Beth Din (*JBL* 57 (1938), p. 28).

Older authors dated ARNA as a whole to a fairly late date. They were seeking the date when ARN was finally completed and were not distinguishing stages in its formation. Zunz put its final compilation after Talmudic times, noting several late passages.³⁷

Weiss refers to Zunz and agrees with him. He lists some expressions and comments that he judges come from Amoraic times.³⁸ Weiss further classifies ARN with the Tosefta, which he also considers to be very late.

Even if we admit that certain passages and comments were added as late as the sixth or seventh century, ARN could have been substantially completed and known by name much earlier. The work cannot be simply dated as a whole by a few passages.³⁹ If an overall tendency could be discovered running through it, then that would suggest a date for at least one of its stages of development.

Schechter feels that ARN arose as a popular haggadic commentary on an early version of PA and finds that it probably had more influence than PA or Rabbi Judah the Prince. He finds thirty passages in A (some of which are in B) which occur in the Babylonian Talmud and in no Tannaitic sources. He speculates that ARN may have been the Tannaitic source of these passages. On the other hand, Schechter does

³⁷ Zunz, *Vorträge*, p. 109 and note d.

³⁸ Weiss, *Dor*, II, p. 225, especially nn. 1 and 2.

³⁹ Zunz's data from ARNA, repeated by Weiss, is very meagre and cannot date the substantial completion of ARNA. Furthermore, Schechter (p. xxv, n. 6) refutes one of Zunz's late passages. Dating a passage early or late often devolves into a very subjective method based on one's impression of the saying or story.

not conclude to this firmly because any or all of the passages could have been added to ARN later from the Talmud or both may have found them in a common source.⁴⁰ Schechter concludes that we cannot date the text (he seems to mean the text as we have it), though he does put its origin early, in the late Tannaitic or early Amoraic period.

Two modern commentators date ARN soon after the Tannaitic period. S. Lieberman mentions in passing that ARN was compiled in the middle of the third century.⁴¹ J. Goldin writes that the contents and language demand a date not later than the third or fourth century or at the utmost shortly thereafter.⁴² Either of these opinions fit well with the picture of ARN's development given above.

PLACE

Since both versions of ARN cite only Tannaim and Tannaitic stories (with few exceptions), the setting for these stories and incidents is necessarily the land of Israel. If ARN, as was argued in the previous section, was begun during the Tannaitic period, then it must almost certainly have originated in Palestine. Even if it came into existence later, it contains so little about Babylon that we must suspect Palestine as its source.

As we look at the sayings, stories and interpretations more closely, we find that much of the material is incorporated into either the Babylonian Talmud or the Palestinian Talmud or both. That is to say, ARN does not contain a fund of material unique to either Palestine or Babylonia. On the other hand, the parables and some stories reflect a Hellenistic-Roman setting, rather than a Parthian-Persian one. This argues for Palestine.

In ARNB four passages mention Babylon, but no significant tendency emerges. Ch. 48 (p. 132) connects foolishness with Babylon. The remark is part of a series of characteristics connected with peoples and places. Probably the remark reflects a Palestinian folk opinion about Babylonians. Ch. 27 (pp. 55-56) has a story in which a donkey

⁴⁰ Schechter, pp. xxv-xxvi. Even detailed analysis can delude us. First we need critical texts which show us that chance odd variant which may explain all the others (see Finkelstein in his *Mabo* and other work for this method). Secondly, we may lack an essential collection or source from which all drew and which we cannot reconstruct.

⁴¹ S. Lieberman, "Jewish Life in Eretz Yisrael in the Palestinian Talmud," in Moshe Davis, *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, 1965, pp. 84-85.

⁴² Goldin, ARNA, p. xxi.

driver considers himself lucky not to have come up from Babylon to Jerusalem the way scholars (in this case Hillel) do. But Hillel is able to answer him. The attack is not very sharp, anyway; the preeminence of Palestine over Babylonia for authoritative learning was freely admitted in Hillel's time. Even if the story was created later, it does not reflect a sharp polemic over this issue.⁴³ The story about Hillel's patience (Ch. 29; p. 60) mentions incidentally that Babylonians have long heads. This seems to be a stereotype, and it comes in a series of stereotypes. It does not seem to have pejorative intent. Finally, Ch. 43 (p. 119) has a passage about the rivers and the scholars' academy which continue for five hundred years. This passage may obliquely refer to Babylonia, but no tendency is clear.⁴⁴

The overall impression given by both versions is a setting in Palestine and Palestine was probably the place of origin of all the traditions. The development of two different oral traditions, resulting in written versions, does imply two places or two circles where each of the versions could develop separately. But no distinct contrast between the two suggests two different places (Judea-Galilee; Palestine-Babylon) or schools (Shammai-Hillel; pro or anti-patriarch).

⁴³ Many sages came from Babylon to Israel to study, such as Abba Arika. There has been a long dispute about whether Babylonian sages were given full ordination by Judah the Prince and just what different kinds of ordination and appointment included. See Rabbi Joshua ben Levi's statement in Sanh 14 a : "There is no *semikah* outside the Land of Israel." Hugo Mantel discusses this complex question and all the texts in "Ordination and Appointment in the Period of the Temple," *HTR* 57 (1964), 325-46.

ARNA Ch. 28 (p. 85; G p. 116) has a sharp attack on Babylon. It says that scholars deteriorate when they leave the Land of Israel. It may be a polemical statement set at a time (the third or fourth centuries?) when scholars were deserting Israel for Babylon and Israel's influence was waning.

⁴⁴ ARNA Ch. 26 (p. 82; G p. 111) has a striking passage where burial in Babylon is equivalent to burial in Israel and burial in Israel is equivalent to burial under the altar. The overall effect is to raise the esteem of Babylon, but not at the expense of Israel. Perhaps this passage could be Babylonian.

Weiss (*Dor*, II, p. 225) says that ARNA was probably written by a Palestinian in Babylon. He fits this into his scheme of dating, but offers no detailed proof.

TRANSLATION

CHAPTER ONE

p. 1 No one who glorifies himself is (truly) great unless someone greater than he glorifies him. The King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blesses be He, glorified Moses, and the King over the kings of kings sanctified him, as Scripture says: "Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with my whole house. With him I speak mouth to mouth... (Num. 12:7-8)." Thus we learn that the King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, glorified Moses and the King over the kings of kings sanctified him.¹

Moses was sanctified in the cloud all seven days, as Scripture says: "Then Moses went up on the mountain, and the cloud covered the mountain. The glory of the Lord settled on Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered him² six days; and on the seventh day he called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud (Ex. 24:15-16)." From this passage we learn that all seven days the divine glory kept accompanying him, in order to sanctify him—as Rabbi Jose the Galilean taught.³

But Rabbi Akiba says: "The glory of the Lord settled on Mount Sinai" at the beginning of the month; "and the cloud covered it⁴

¹ ARNB begins with the statement that God glorified Moses; Moses did not glorify himself. It insists that Moses possesses genuine glory because he was sanctified by God, but it keeps Moses firmly subordinated to God. This same theme occurs implicitly in the following two paragraphs. Cf. J. Goldin, *Mordecai Kaplan Jubilee*, Eng. Vol. (New York, 1953), pp. 278-80. ARNA omits this introductory paragraph.

Num. 12:7-8 does not explicitly say that God glorified or sanctified Moses. God seems to glorify (literally "make great") Moses by putting him in charge of his whole house and he sanctifies him by the contract implied in speaking to him face to face (literally "mouth to mouth").

² The Hebrew under discussion can mean "covered *him*" or "covered *it*." Rabbi Jose the Galilean, who is often found in debate with Akiba (Bacher, p. 113), interprets this verse to mean "covered *him*," that is, Moses. He thus implies that Moses underwent a special seven day purification after the commandments were given on Mount Sinai. Rabbi Akiba, in the following paragraph, interprets the verse to mean "covered *it*," and thus denies Moses the special purification.

³ Rabbi Jose the Galilean holds, with the Tannaim, that the Commandments were given to Moses on the sixth day of the month and that this story is told in Ex. 19-20. (Yoma 4b; Shab 86b-87a; Taan 28b) Then, on the seventh day, a different incident took place, as recounted in Ex. 24. Moses ascended the mountain and for seven days a cloud purified *him*. This seven day purification was part of the 40 days mentioned in Ex. 24:18.

⁴ Rabbi Akiba holds that Ex. 19-20 and 24 speak of the same incident, the giving of the Torah on Mt. Sinai. Consequently, the cloud descended on the mountain for six

six days; and on the seventh day He called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud": the seventh day, after the commandments were given.⁵

Moses was sanctified in the cloud all seven days⁶ and then he sanctified Aaron and his sons for seven whole days, as Scripture says: "Then Moses took some of the anointing oil and of the blood which was on the altar..." And Moses said to Aaron and his sons... "You shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting for *seven days*, until the days of your ordination are completed, for it will take seven days to ordain you (Lev. 8:30-31 & 33)."

Eleazar burned the red heifer and sprinkled therefrom on all of Israel each year. Rabbi Jose said: This is the manner of purification in all generations.⁷

days. Then on the seventh. the commandments were given (the minority view of Rabbi Jose [ben Halafta], a disciple of Johanan ben Zakkai, which Akiba agreed with, against the majority of the Tannaim and Rabbi Jose the Galilean). On that same seventh day, after the commandments were given, Moses, who had been standing with Israel, was called by God, a special honor, and ascended for 40 days. (Yoma 4b) But no special seven day purification is given to Moses.

⁵ "After the commandments were given": on the sixth day. Akiba's view lessens the glory attached to Moses, for he was not purified for seven days, but only singled out for special mention. See J. Goldin (*Mordecai Kaplan Jubilee*, Eng. Vol. New York, 1953, pp. 278-80) for an analysis of this tendency, especially in ARNA. Further material can be found in ARNA p. 1 (G p. 3) and Mech on Ex. 16:1 (Lauterbach, II, p. 99). Rabbi Jose the Galilean's view may also implicitly compare Moses to the high priest undergoing a seven day purification and then entering the Holy of Holies on the day of Atonement, while Rabbi Akiba's view is anti-priestly (Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. xxix, n. 4). Immediately after this, Rabbi Jose the Galilean's view is presumed and two examples concerned with priesthood (the consecration of Aaron and his sons and the burning of the red heifer) follow.

⁶ The following comments presume the opinion of Rabbi Jose that Moses was sanctified in the cloud for seven days. They present parallel cases where consecration or purification takes seven days.

⁷ The mention of Eleazar (son of Aaron, Ex. 6:23) and the red heifer (Num. 19:2ff) does not explicitly refer to a seven day period and so does not seem to fit into this series. Its point and the point of Rabbi Jose's remark is that purification with the ashes of the red heifer is a permanent practice. But we already know this from Scripture (Num. 19:10). Perhaps, then, this comment implies acceptance of the practices recorded in Yoma 2a: that the red heifer is burned once a year on the Day of Atonement and that both the High Priest and the priest who is to burn the red heifer must leave their homes for *seven days* of preparation and purification before the Day of Atonement. (See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 233, n. 15.)

ARNA (p. 1; G p. 4) also mentions the anointing of Aaron and his sons and the red heifer, so probably the presence of these two incidents is original to ARN. However, these incidents are recounted in different contexts in versions A and B. In ARNA they

On the basis of this passage the period of purification is spoken of as being seven days for a man with a flux, seven for a woman with a flux, seven for a menstruant, seven for a leper, and seven for one unclean through contact with a corpse; seven days for mourning and seven for a wedding feast.

What is the proof for a seven day purification for a man with a flux? Scripture says: "And when he who has a discharge is cleansed of his discharge, then he shall count for himself seven days for his cleansing... (Lev. 15:13)."

What is the proof for a seven day purification for a woman with a flux? Scripture says: "But if she is cleansed of her discharge, she shall count for herself seven days... and after that she shall be clean (Lev. 15:28)."

What is the proof for a seven day purification for a menstruant? Scripture says: "She shall be in her (menstrual) impurity for seven days... (Lev. 15:19)."

What is the proof for a seven day purification for a leper? Scripture says: "...he shall dwell outside his tent seven days (Lev. 14:8)."

What is the proof for a seven day purification for one unclean through contact with a corpse? Scripture says: "Whoever in the open field touches one who is slain with a sword, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days (Num. 19:16)."

What is the proof for seven days of mourning? Scripture says: "...and he made a mourning for his father seven days (Gen. 50:10)."

What is the proof for a seven day wedding feast? Scripture says: "Complete the week of his one... (Gen. 29:27)."⁸

p. 2 MOSES RECEIVED⁹ TORAH FROM SINAI AND HE PASSED IT ON TO

are mentioned after an emphatic statement that Moses alone received the Torah. So perhaps they are an attempt to involve priests in the receiving of the Torah. In ARNB the anointing and the red heifer follow the account of Moses seven day purification and precede an independent list of seven situations where a seven day purification is required. Hence, they do not strengthen the position of priests, as in ARNA, but are subsumed into the material dealing with seven day periods.

⁸ The seven days set aside for mourning and for wedding feasts are often mentioned together (BerRab 100:7 (T-A, p. 1289); Tan, *Vayehi*, 17; TanBub, *Vayehi*, end). The verse quoted, Gen. 29:27, refers to Jacob's wedding feast for Leah. Laban urges him to complete the seven days for Leah and then marry Rachel.

⁹ The Hebrew word used here is *gibbel* (received). ARNA uses this verb throughout the chain of tradition. ARNB and PA have "received" in this instance and then use the verb *masar* (passed on) from Joshua to the men of the great synagogue. From the men of the great synagogue on "received" is used. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 233, n. 16 and

JOSHUA; THEN JOSHUA (PASSED IT ON) TO THE ELDERS,¹⁰ THE ELDERS TO THE JUDGES, THE JUDGES TO THE PROPHETS, PROPHETS TO HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH AND MALACHI.¹¹ HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH AND MALACHI PASSED IT ON TO THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE. AND THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE USED TO SAY THREE THINGS: BE DELIBERATE IN JUDGMENT, AND RAISE MANY DISCIPLES, AND MAKE A HEDGE ABOUT THE TORAH.¹²

JBL 57 (1938), pp. 48-49) suggests that "received" is the earlier text in that it indicates that the people mentioned were *among* the recipients of the tradition. He further holds that the term "passed it on" limits the legitimate recipients of the tradition *exclusively* to those mentioned, thus excluding the priests, who were the traditional guardians of the Torah. (See note 14 below where Finkelstein speculates that Eli and Samuel may have been added to this list to counteract this bias.) He thinks that this change would have been made during the second century around the time of Akiba when the Pharisees were firmly in control, and the priesthood's power had declined.

¹⁰ The term "Elders" is, oddly, not preceded by the definite article in Hebrew; nor are the following terms, Judges and Prophets. The reason for this usage is not clear, but perhaps these terms were so personalized in the tradition that they functioned like proper names, without the definite article.

¹¹ Both ARNA and B include the Judges and Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi in their list of the recipients of the tradition. PA omits these but adds Rabban Gamaliel and Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel (PA 1:16-18) at the end of the list (after Hillel and Shammai) to keep the total number of entries at fourteen. For the significance of the number fourteen and the process of change, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 6-10.

Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are not included under the category "prophets" in this list. Implicit in this division is the notion of the pre-exilic prophets as the earlier (*rišōnīm*) prophets and these three post-exilic prophets as the later (*aḥārōnīm*) prophets. They are called the last of the prophets in later Talmudic literature (Yoma 9b; Sanh 11a) and are contrasted with Daniel, who is not a prophet (Meg 3a; Sanh 93a).

Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are treated as a separate group (prophets nevertheless) and function also as transmitters of traditions. We are told that three prophets returned from the exile and testified concerning the building of the Temple (Zeb 62a). Certain laws and customs are traced back to them by Talmudic authorities (RH 19b; Naz 53a; Hul 137b; and also perhaps Suk 44a; Shebu 15b-16a). Similarly they are said to have guided Jonathan ben Uzziel when he wrote down the Targum of the Prophets (Meg 3a). They are both part of the Targum and see to its transmission. (See W. D. Davies, "Reflections on Tradition: The Abot Revisited," in W. R. Farmer (ed.) *John Knox Festschrift* [1967], pp. 131-33).

¹² This chain of transmission for the tradition, of which this is the beginning, has been studied often, most extensively by L. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 5-38 and *JBL* 57 [1938], 13-50). He sees Abot 1:1-15 (ARNA, Chaps. 1-13; ARNB, Chaps. 1-27) as an early Shammaite document meant to establish their legitimacy as bearers of the tradition. For the use of this idea of tradition from Sinai, see Yad 4:3 and Ber 27b-28a. In general, the form of the document in ARNB is earlier than that in A and PA, as we shall see in succeeding chapters. In his recent work *New Light from the Prophets* (Basic Books,

MOSES RECEIVED TORAH FROM SINAI. Not from the mouth of an angel and not from the mouth of a Seraph, but from the mouth of the King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, as Scripture says : "These are the statutes and ordinances and laws which the Lord made between him and the people of Israel on Mount Sinai be Moses. (Lev. 26:46)."¹³ Where are we told that God wrote the commandments for Moses? Scripture says : "and he wrote them on two tables of stone (Dt. 5:19)."

MOSES PASSED (IT) ON TO JOSHUA, as Scripture says : "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him... (Dt. 34:9)."

JOSHUA PASSED (IT) ON TO ELDERS, as Scripture says : "And the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua... (Jud. 2:7)." The elders survived Joshua by a matter of days, not of years.

THE ELDERS PASSED (IT) ON TO THE JUDGES, as Scripture says : "And then the Lord raised up judges for them... (Jud. 2:18)."

THE JUDGES PASSED (IT) ON TO ELI, as Scripture says : "Now Eli the priest was sitting on the seat beside the doorpost of the temple of the Lord (1 Sam. 1:9)."

New York, 1969), pp. 77-90, Finkelstein says that the core of this chain of tradition dates from prophetic times.

E. Bickerman has shown that during Hellenistic times various lists of the heads of philosophical schools and of high priests were compiled by Greeks and Egyptians, etc. The Pharisaic school probably felt the influence of this practice, (Elie Bickerman [sic], "La Chaîne de la Tradition Pharisienne," *RB* 59 [1952], 44-54). See also H. Mantel, who interprets the Great Synagogue as the assembly of a Jewish equivalent of the Hellenistic, nonofficial, religious association ("The Nature of the Great Synagogue," *HTR* 60 [1967], 69-91). Even the chain of tradition for the transmission of Jewish magic is traced in a way similar to PA in *Sepher Ha-Razim*, ed. M. Margalioth (Jerusalem, 1966), p. 66.

Version A does not first record the whole chain in its entirety like this. It presents each item separately, substantiated by its verse.

¹³ The presence of the Hebrew word for "between" (*bēn*) twice in this verse suggests that Moses was intermediary between God and his people. Moses is elsewhere (ARNA, p. 1; G p. 4) called the middleman between God and his people (*byyny*). See J. Goldin, "Not By an Angel and Not By a Messenger," in J. Neusner (ed.) *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 419-20. He follows Louis Finkelstein's emendation. Paul, in the New Testament (Galatians 3:19), charges that the law was given through angels as intermediaries.

The proof texts in this and the following statements, both in A and B, are not found in PA. Finkelstein feels that the use of such texts is usually an early phenomenon (*Mabo*, p. xxix, n. 4). However, the proof texts chosen by A and B are for the most part different, indicating that the tradition being passed on received more than one articulation.

AND ELI PASSED (IT) ON TO SAMUEL,¹⁴ as Scripture says : "Now the boy Samuel continued to grow both in stature and in favor with the Lord and with men (1 Sam. 2:26)."

SAMUEL PASSED (IT) ON TO THE PROPHETS, as Scripture says : "Surely the Lord God does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets (Amos 3:7)."

THE PROPHETS PASSED (IT) ON TO HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH AND MALACHI.¹⁵ AND HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH AND MALACHI PASSED (IT) ON TO THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE, AND THEY USED TO SAY THREE THINGS : BE DELIBERATE IN JUDGMENT, RAISE MANY DISCIPLES, AND MAKE A HEDGE ABOUT THE TORAH.¹⁶

BE DELIBERATE IN JUDGMENT, for whoever is deliberate in judgment puts the judgment in order and presents it properly, as Scripture says : "A word properly spoken is like apples of gold in a setting of silver (Prov. 25:11)."¹⁷

Another interpretation. BE DELIBERATE IN JUDGMENT, for we find in regard to the men of Hezekiah, the king of Judah, that they were

¹⁴ Only ARNB includes Eli the priest and his disciple, Samuel the Levite, who was also a prophet. That two individuals, a priest and a Levite, are included in a series of groups (elders, judges, prophets, men of the Great Synagogue), especially when Samuel is usually subsumed under the prophets, indicates possible special pleading. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 6, n. 10) feels that a supporter of the Levitical priesthood added these names to this genealogical list of the Pharisaic school.

¹⁵ Alone in this list, both here and in ARNA, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are not supported by a Scriptural verse. The reason why is not clear.

¹⁶ I follow Ms. P in quoting the whole saying and then the first phrase of the saying as a lemma.

This famous saying has been often and variously interpreted. J. Goldin ("The End of Ecclesiastes : Literal Exegesis and Its Transformation," in A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical Motifs* (Harvard UP, 1966), pp. 135-58) outlines several trends of interpretation found in classical sources and early commentators. The differing tendencies manifest confusion regarding the literal meaning of this saying. L. Finkelstein ("The Maxim of the Anshe Keneset Ha-Gedolah," *JBL* 59 [1940], 455-69) translates and interprets the saying differently from the traditional way as an instruction to judges. Goldin finds a different early version of the saying implied by the evidence and sees the saying as a commentary on or response to Qoh. 12:12 which urges the fostering of disciples rather than the writing of more books (cf. esp. pp. 149-50).

No matter what the original meaning of the saying, we must attend to the understanding of the saying manifested in our text here.

¹⁷ This first interpretation of the saying's first clause stipulates that judges are to present their decisions clearly, with their reasons and opinions in order. Finkelstein (*JBL* 59 [1940], 461-62) holds that "Make a hedge about your words," according to his reading of the saying, originally meant just that.

deliberate in judgment and set judgments in order, as Scripture says :
 p. 3 "These also are the proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied (Prov. 25:1)."¹⁸

Why does Scripture say : "These also ?" Because they were deliberate in judgment and put the judgments in order.¹⁹ "Which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied." Why is this said ? For I say : Until they were included in the writings, Proverbs, Song of Songs and Qoheleth (were regarded as worthy) to be suppressed.²⁰

¹⁸ The proverbs which the men of Hezekiah copied are considered to be judgements which they set in order in a reasonable and readable form. On the basis of this verse other sources conclude that Hezekiah taught Torah to all Israel. See SifreDt 32 (Finkelstein, p. 58); Sanh 101. Note also that the previous interpretation of "Be deliberate in judgment" derives from Prov. 25:11, a verse from the section of Proverbs said to be set in order by the men of Hezekiah.

¹⁹ The first two words of Prov. 25:1. "These also," are cited to connect the judgments of the men of the Great Synagogue with these judgments or proverbs, also. The identification of the men of Hezekiah with the men of the Great Synagogue is assumed here and indeed they were often confused in Tannaitic times. (See the next note). ARNA uses a different aspect of Prov. 25:1 to prove its point. (Cf. A p. 2; G p. 5 and n. 18.)

²⁰ The Hebrew construction is not smooth here. The background of the section is that Proverbs, Song of Songs and Qoheleth had difficulty entering the canon because of seemingly disedifying passages. The men of Hezekiah are seen as saving these books from oblivion by "copying" them. ARNA (p. 2; G p. 5) interprets the verb "copy" (*ha'atîqû*) mean "interpret" and B interprets it to mean "removed [the objectionable meanings]." (See note 24.)

The canonicity of Proverbs, Song of Songs and Qoheleth was argued during Tannaitic times. Solomon was the author of them all, according to the Rabbinic view, and his orthodoxy and acceptability was in serious doubt because of his idolatry. For this reason and because each book contained passages which might be construed as anti-religious or heretical, these books were long under suspicion. (See Saul Lieberman, "Notes on the First Chapter of Qoheleth Rabbah," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion* [Jubilee for Gershom Scholem]. Jerusalem : 1967, pp. 163-67 [in Hebrew] for an excellent analysis of this question.)

This matter was argued in Tannaitic sources (see below) so the question was not actually settled by the men of Hezekiah. Lieberman (above, p. 167, n. 23) points out that the men of Hezekiah and the men of the Great Synagogue were confused with one another. Furthermore, the period between the Babylonian captivity and Alexander the Great was much foreshortened in Rabbinic chronology (Sed01Rab Ch. 30). Consequently, the role assigned the men of Hezekiah here is not farfetched.

Qoheleth gave the Rabbis the most trouble, and this verse is always the one quoted. See ARNA p. 2; Shab 30b; 63b; LevRab 28:1 (Margulies, pp. 648-49), QohRab 1:3; 11:9; PRK, p. 135; pp. 370-72; Mid Prov. 25:1; Midrash Ha-Gadol, *Gen.*, p. 795. Most see it as tending toward heresy (*minûl*). Song of Songs, with its erotic poetry, also troubled the Rabbis until Akiba finally fixed its literal meaning as that of Israel and her beloved, God (Bacher I, pp. 285-86; 310-12). But even then he had to forbid its use as a song in

In Proverbs what does it say? "She is loud and wayward (Prov. 7:11)."²¹

In Song of Songs what does it say? "My beloved is to me a bag of myrrh, that lies between my breasts. My beloved is to me a cluster of henna blossoms (Song 1:13)."²²

In Qoheleth what does it say? "Rejoice young man in your youth (Qoh. 11:9)."²³

Another interpretation. "Which they copied": they copied means only that they removed (the objectionable meanings), as Scripture says: "Thence he removed (himself) from there toward the mountains... (Gen. 12:8)." We need not quote: "He who removes mountains, and they know it not (Job 9:5)."²⁴

Another interpretation. BE DELIBERATE IN JUDGMENT means that a man should not be short tempered and should not interrupt his fellow-man because everyone who is short tempered ends up forgetting what

banquet and drinking halls (Sanh 101a and TosSanh 12:10) and praise it extensively (Yad 3:5). Proverbs also gave the Rabbis some trouble (Shab 30b). All three are a point of argument in Yad 3:5 (see also Eduy 5:3; Meg 7a) where we are taught that the books of Scripture render the hands unclean so that the hands must be washed (see Yad 3:2-3). The sages argue there whether Proverbs, Song of Songs and Qoheleth render the hands unclean or not. The final decision is that they do (and so are sacred and part of the canon); but many variant opinions are recorded, indicating that the issue was extensively debated.

²¹ Proverbs, Ch. 7, gives an extensive description of a prostitute and how she seduces young men. Version A (p. 2; G pp. 5-6) quotes a more extensive passage from Prov. 7.

²² Ms. R repeats, at the end of the verse, "That lies between my breasts." This clause from earlier in the verse was repeated at the end of the verse by an editor or copyist because it was the objectionable expression.

²³ This verse is interpreted in an acceptable way in conjunction with Num. 15:39 several places in rabbinic literature. Other interpretations are also suggested. See SifreNum on 15:39 (Horovitz, p. 127); PRK, pp. 135 and 370-72; Shab 63b; LevRab 28:1 (Margulies, p. 649); QohRab 1:3; 11:9. The verse was generally troublesome to the Sages.

²⁴ The root 'tq in BH means "copy" (as in Prov. 25:1) and "remove" as in the two verses, Gen. 12:8 and Job 9:5, quoted here. At this point the meaning of the MH root *prš* intersects 'tq: *prš* means to "remove; separate" and also "interpret." "They copied" of Prov. 25:1 is here interpreted to mean "they removed." It means that the men of Hezekiah removed the objectionable meanings from Proverbs, Song of Songs and Qoheleth, that is, they interpreted the passages in an acceptable way (*prš*, meaning "remove" and "interpret").

ARNA arrives at the same result by associating 'tq with *prš* meaning "interpret" (A p. 2; G p. 5); the men of Hezekiah interpreted the difficult passages. The two verses quoted in B, however, Gen. 12:8 and Job 9:5, definitely propose the meaning "remove" for 'tq, not the meaning "interpret".

he was going to say, for so we find as regards Moses, the father²⁵ of the prophets: because he became angry for a little while, he forgot what he was going to say, and Eleazar the son of Aaron had to reply in his place, as Scripture says: "And Eleazar the priest said to the men of war who had gone to battle: "This is the statute of the law which the Lord has commanded Moses (Num. 31:21)." He commanded Moses, he did not command me.²⁶ An inference is to be drawn here. If Moses, father of the prophets, forgot what he had to say because he became angry for a little while, how much more so all other human beings.

Ben Azzai says: If you insist on what you say, you reduce it to naught.²⁷

AND MAKE A HEDGE ABOUT THE TORAH.²⁸ A vineyard which is surrounded by a fence is unlike a vineyard not surrounded by a fence.²⁹ (This also means) that no one should make the fence more important than what is to be fenced in—for if the fence falls down, then it will cut down the plants. For this is what we find in connection with Adam: he treated the fence as more significant than what was essential. When the fence fell down, it cut down the plants.³⁰

²⁵ Read "father" with Ms. P and with Ms. R below, p. 3, l. 22.

²⁶ Num. 31:13 Moses is angry with Israel's officers because they allowed Midianite women and children to live; he gives them some instructions. Then Eleazar gives them further instructions, which God gave to Moses. Why did Moses not speak for himself? He forgot what God told him to say and Eleazar had to complete the instructions. See A p. 3 (G p. 7); Pes 66b; LevRab 13:1 (Margulies, pp. 269-70).

²⁷ Neither the exact point of this saying nor even its form is certain A (p. 3; G p. 7) reads: "Be careful in thy speech lest it come to naught (*mbllh*)."²⁷ Eduy 1:4 contains expressions similar to A and B: "And why do they record the opinions of Shammai and Hillel when these do not prevail (*lbllh*)? To teach the generations that come after that none should persist in his opinion (*yh' dm 'umd 'l dbryw*), for lo, 'the fathers of the world' did not persist in their opinion." Both ARN and Eduyyot seem to be trying to teach humility in holding one's opinion.

Ben Azzai's opinion seems to have acquired its position in ARN and B because of the theme of care in speech which dominates "Be deliberate in judgment" before it and "make a hedge about the Torah" after it. (See Goldin, "Third Chapter," p. 370.)

²⁸ Note that both versions of ARN interpret the hedge clause first and the raising of disciples after it, though the whole saying is always quoted with the hedge clause last. See note 16 and also Goldin, "Third Chapter," pp. 369-70 for the process that led ARN to interpret the hedge clause first.

²⁹ The image of a fenced vineyard is used in TosKid 1:11.

³⁰ The warning about the vineyard and the fence is applied to Adam and presumes the first interpretation given below in connection with Adam's hedge. This incident contains the archtypical incident of a hedge leading to evil and that perhaps explains its presence here in abbreviated form before even the list of those who made hedges is

The Holy One, blessed be He, made a hedge about his words, as did also Adam, and Job, and Moses, and the Torah, and the prophets, and the Writings, and the Sages make a hedge about their words.³¹

Where are we told that the Holy One, blessed be He, made a hedge about his words? Scripture says: "Yea, all the nations will say, 'Why has the Lord done thus to this land?' (Dt. 29:23)" At this point, all the inhabitants of the world began to say to Moses: Because He is the ruler of³² His world, he kills whomever he wants and leaves alone whomever he wants.³³ What did the men of the (generation of the) flood do to Him that He made them float like leather bottles in water? What did the generation of the Tower of Babel do to Him that He
p. 4 scattered them throughout the whole world. What did the men of Sodom do to Him that He slew³⁴ them with fire and salt. And what did His own people do to Him that He exiled them from His land? This is why it was said to Moses: Write down what follows: "It is because

given. A more abbreviated form of this warning occurs in BerRab 19:3 (T-A, p. 172) in the name of Rab Hiyya and connected to Prov. 30:6. See also A, pp. 4-5 (G p. 10) for similar general statements referred to Adam.

³¹ Job and the Torah switch places in ARNA. See Ch. 2, note 1 for the explanation. The phrase to be interpreted here has been changed from "make a hedge about the Torah" to "made a hedge about its words." And even Torah itself makes a hedge. This is already a midrashic development. (See Goldin, "Third Chapter," pp. 369-70.)

³² Schechter and Ms. N read *šlyt*. Ms. R has a lacuna. Mss. P and H read *šwlt* ("rules").

³³ This sentence sounds like a polemical challenge thrown up at the Jews by their Hellenistic neighbors. (Cf. A p. 3; G p. 8, where a more neutral question is asked by later generations.) The challenge implies that Israel's God is whimsical and unreasonable in his actions, rather than providential. Of the two main schools of Hellenistic thought, the Epicureans did not believe in providence and so could not have raised this challenge. The other school, the Stoics, believed in a totally reasonable universe under providence: "... if the Stoic speaks of God's providence, one must not forget that this providence is identical with nature and necessity." (Ludwig Edelstein, *The Meaning of Stoicism*. Harvard UP: 1966, p. 34.)

Yet, Stoics can accept punishment, suffering, and disaster (such as are implied in Dt. 24:23-27) and still affirm God and providence. See, for example, Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, xcvi, 2. Suicide was the ultimate weapon of the Stoic who could no longer live according to nature because of the magnitude of the hardships facing him (R. D. Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*. New York, 1910, pp. 98-102). Even though the balance is against the Stoic, nature is still assumed to be reasonable and providential.

Consequently, the Stoics do not fit the point of view expressed in this challenge, either. Probably, it was a polemical statement from hostile neighbors taking advantage of Israel's reversals. The homilist has clearly stylized the challenge, since the opponents quote Scripture.

³⁴ Schechter (and my translation) follow Ms. N (*šhmytn*). Mss. R, P, and H have *šm'tn* ("reduce").

they forsook the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them out of the land of Egypt, and went and served other gods and worshipped them..." Because of this Scripture says: "And the Lord uprooted them their land with anger and fury and great wrath (Dt. 29:24-27)."³⁵

"With anger" is a reference to the sword, as Scripture says: "And my anger will burn and I will kill you with the sword (Ex. 22:23)." "And with fury" is a reference to famine, as Scripture says: "He that is far off shall die of pestilence; and he that is near shall fall by the sword; and he that is left and is preserved shall die of famine. Thus I will spend my fury upon them (Ez. 6:12)." "And with wrath" is a reference to plague, as Scripture says: "For wrath has gone forth from the Lord, the pestilence has begun (Num. 17:11)."³⁶

Where are we told that Adam made a hege about his words? When the Holy One, blessed by He, said to him: "You may eat freely of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat (Gen. 2:16-17)." Now, from the words of Eve we learn that Adam hedged her in.³⁷ The serpent debated with himself,

³⁵ Dt. 29:23ff anticipates the challenges which will be made to God's actions. God defends His actions in advance, that is, makes a hedge.

Scripture and Judaism constantly struggled with the problem of God's punishment. Destruction because of idolatry occurs in Jeremiah 5:19; 16:10-11; 22:8-9. In 22:8-9 the nations look at the city and ask why it was destroyed. Answer: idolatry.

Another favorite request is that God forgive the sins (which the people acknowledge) and not punish them for his name's sake, that is, so that pagan nations will not have grounds for denying God's love for his people (Jer. 14:7 and 21; Ez. 20:9 and 14; Is. 48:9). Later Judaism had to affirm that God was not arbitrary and that he did not desire to convict sinners (Moore, I, pp. 379-80 and 390-91).

ARNA (p. 3; G p. 8) has a more concise version of this midrash which ends with an affirmation of God's precise justice in meting out punishment.

³⁶ This final paragraph is an interpretation of Dt. 29:27 according to the second rule of Hillel: "*G'zerāh šāvāh*" (the conditions which apply to terms in one place apply also in a second place where it is used); and according to the seventh rule of Hillel (the twelfth of Ishmael): "*Dābār hallāmēd mē'inyānō*" (the meaning of a passage may be deduced from its context) (S. Singer, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*. New ed., London. 1962, pp. 14-15; Sifra 1c and 2d). To understand the terms anger, fury, and wrath we look to other verses containing these expressions (similarity of phrases) and then we understand the terms in the second verses from their context, e.g., anger and the sword are together in Ex. 22:23. (see also Schechter, note 29 to this text.)

³⁷ The other sources dealing with Gen. 2:16-17 and 3:3 (which follows below) quote them one after another as the chink in the wall which the serpent was able to use (BerRab 19:3 [T-A, p. 172]; PRE 13; MidPs 1:9 [Braude, I, pp. 12-13]). Version B, however, inserts the reasoning of the serpent, which led him to concentrate on Eve, between

saying: If I go to Adam and speak to him, I know that he will not listen to me. Instead, I will go to Eve because I know that women are influenced by everyone. He went and said to her: "Did God say, 'You shall not eat of any tree of the garden' (Gen. 3:1)." She said to him: "No, we may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but God said, p. 5 'You shall not eat of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, neither shall you touch it, lest you die' (Gen. 3:2-3)." As soon as the serpent heard Eve's words, he found the weak spot in her argument.³⁸

Rabbi says: If the serpent had not been cursed, he would have been of great utility to the world because man would have introduced him into use instead of the horse, mule and donkey and he would have carried out manure for man to the gardens and orchards. Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says: If the serpent had not been cursed, he would have been of great utility to the world because a man would have brought two serpents for himself and would have sent³⁹ one to the north and one to the south, and in thirty days they would have brought him silver and gold and precious stones and pearls.⁴⁰

these two verses; in A p. 4 (G pp. 8-9) the serpent's reasoning comes after these verses and in PRE 13 before. In ARNA the serpent's strategy is not so clearly connected to the verses from Genesis as it is in other sources.

³⁸ In Gen. 2:17 God tells Adam that he is not to eat of the tree. Eve tells the serpent that God said they were not to eat of or *touch* the tree. We therefore infer that when Adam told Eve about the commandment, he added to it (made a hedge) to keep her far from temptation. But his precautions gave the serpent his opportunity. (BerRab and MidPs infer that Eve added "touch" to the command.)

The final sentence, "He found the weak spot in her argument," is literally in Hebrew: "He found an opening through which to enter." This idiom (see also B p. 7, ll. 2-5) calls to mind the account given in the Apocalypse of Moses 19 where the devil, speaking through the serpent's mouth, convinces Eve to open the gate of paradise and let him in to lead her to the tree.

We have thus far interpreted Gen. 3:1-3. ARNB will continue interpreting Gen. 3 up verse 6.

³⁹ The reading of Mss. R and P (*wdwrk*), rather than Schechter's emendation, is correct and means "send". See Lieberman, *Leshonenu* 33 (1968), 76.

⁴⁰ Because of Gen. 3:1, "Now the serpent was more subtle than any other wild creature that the Lord God had made," and the serpent's role in the following story, he was pictured as an extraordinary figure, able to walk, speak, reason, etc. (BerRab 19:1 [T-A, p. 171]; DtRab 5:10; *Legends*, I pp. 71-72). In PRE 13, Erub 18a and BerRab 19:1 Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says the snake was like a camel, a statement which fits harmoniously with his opinion here that serpents would have gone on caravan trips to bring back riches from the north and south (in A: west and east). In ARNA p. 5

The serpent went and took of the tree's fruit and ate. Some say that when the tree saw the serpent coming toward it, it said to him : Villain, don't touch me, "Let not the foot of arrogance come upon me, p. 6 nor the hand of the wicked shake me (Ps. 36:12)." Scripture also says : "There the evildoers lie prostrate (Ps. 36:13)." The serpent came and said to Eve : Look, I touched it and did not die. You too, if you touch it, will not die. (He pushed her and she touched the tree, and she did not die.)⁴¹ He said to her : Know then that this prohibition is nothing

(G p. 10) and Sanh 59b Rabbi Simeon ben Menasia is the traditor of both accounts of the serpent's potential worth, which are given in reverse order from that in B.

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar was a pupil of Rabbi Meir and a contemporary of Rabbi Judah the Prince (Rabbi), often in debate with him, as he is here (Strack, p. 117; Bacher, II, pp. 422-36). Rabbi Simeon ben Menasia was also their contemporary (Strack, p. 117; Bacher, II, pp. 489-94). Bacher (II, p. 494, n. 3) says that ARNB should read Simeon ben Menasia, with ARNA and BerRab instead of Simeon ben Eleazar. Since both are contemporaries and named Simeon, they might easily be mixed up. But the confusion cannot be so easily solved.

Bacher (II, p. 426) records a confusion of their sayings; further on in ARN (p. 29) A has Simeon ben Eleazar (G p. 41) and B Simeon ben Menasia telling the same parable about Akiba (Ch. 12, n. 9). Furthermore, B injects Rabbi into the situation (a review of Schechter by "K" in *MGWJ* 36 [Jan. 1887], p. 378, asserts that Rabbi is incorrect and that Simeon ben Menasia in A is right). ARNA and Sanh lack Rabbi and tell both stories about the serpent in the name of Simeon ben Menasia. Later in this chapter (pp. 6-7) G pp. 12-13) both versions record a parable of Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar and then recount a second parable, A in the name of Simeon ben Yohai and B in the name of Rabbi. These occurrences of Rabbi with Simeon ben Eleazar suggest that the recording of their names cannot be lightly dismissed.

⁴¹ The sentence contained in brackets is not found in Mss. R, P or N. Ms. H has a long excerpt which begins by recounting that the serpent pushed Eve against the tree, but the excerpt is so different from what is found in the other Mss. that it may not be from ARNB (see p. 14a of the Ms.). The sentence is required by the flow of events, however, and is included by Schechter.

The sequence of events and arguments by which the serpent convinced Eve to sin is slightly different in ARNA, p. 4 (G pp. 8-9), B pp. 5-6; PRE 13, and BerRab 19:1-9 (T-A, pp. 169-179). We shall try to follow these variations in the following notes.

The first sentence of this section recounts that the serpent took and ate of the fruit. But after the quotation of Ps. 36 the serpent tells Eve : "Look, I *touched* it." This touching fits in with the whole argument of the section (and also with PRE) : Adam makes the hedge too high (Do not eat or *touch*); the serpent concentrates on this weak spot by touching the tree; Eve is convinced, or pushed against the tree. So, eating of the tree does not fit in so early in the incident.

In ARNA, after the argument concerning touching, the serpent says that he will take and eat (and that he did eat seems implied). Then Eve decides to eat. In BerRab and PRE Eve eats of the tree, but all the tension and argument are connected with

other than His grudging nature. The moment you eat of the forbidden fruit, then, just as He can create a world, so you will be able to create a world; just as he can kill and revive, you also will be able to kill and revive, as Scripture says: "For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil (Gen. 3:5)." ⁴²

Some say that when Eve ate of the fruit of the tree, she saw herself as though she was not injured and she said: Everything which my Master, Adam, commanded me is a lie. This teaches that Eve used to call Adam, "My Master." ⁴³

Some say that as soon as Eve ate of the fruit of the tree, she saw the angel of death coming toward her. She said: It seems to me as though I am being removed from the world and in the end another woman will be created for Adam instead of me. What shall I do? I will make him eat with me, as Scripture says: She took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate (Gen. 3:6)." ⁴⁴

touching the tree. Once this hedge erected by Adam falls, convincing Eve to eat of the tree is easy.

As the tree saw the serpent approaching, it cried out in protest (see ARNA and PRE also). In B and PRE this does not stop the serpent from touching the tree. However, in A the serpent does not touch the tree at all; thus A implies that the serpent did not give Eve the fruit but that she *took* of it (Gen. 3:6; see G, Ch. 1, n. 36).

Finally the serpent pushes Eve into the tree, and of course she does not die since touching the tree is not forbidden by God. BerRab and MidPs 1:9 (Brande, I, pp. 12-13) give a resolution to the situation like that in B. PRE recounts not that she was pushed into the tree, but that she followed the serpent's example and touched the tree. ARNA merely says, later, that she ate of the fruit, but not that she touched the tree.

⁴² The serpent's slandering of God and his contention that God is jealous (Gen. 3:5) was a common theme in Rabbinic literature and was often compared to other incidents of arrogance, etc. (BerRab 19:4 [T-A, pp. 172-73]; ExRab 3:12; DtRab 5:10; Tan, *Bereshit*, 8; TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 47; MidPs 1:9-10 [Brande, I, pp. 12-14]; PRE 13). ARNA, however, lacks this specific theme.

⁴³ This paragraph and the next give two opinions as to what Eve saw and felt after she ate of the fruit. In the first she sees herself as not injured after she has eaten and so concludes that Adam lied to her. In A she first concludes this, because of the serpent's arguments, and then eats.

This quote from Eve is then further interpreted (by a later interpreter, perhaps) as proof that Eve used to address Adam as "My Master" (Rabbi). ARNA also presents a parallel remark parenthetically. Such special attention to this title may suggest or hint at a likeness of Adam, his hedge, and Eve to the Rabbis, their teachings, and the people. The people should not lose confidence in their Rabbis and transgress their rulings.

⁴⁴ Some of the Sages thought that Eve ate and immediately was faced with death (see Gen. 2:17; 3:4). In PRE, oddly, she sees the angel of death after touching and before

Some say that as soon as Adam ate of the fruit of the tree, his eyes began to be opened and in his mouth his teeth were set on edge. He said to Eve : Eve, what is this that you fed me ? Have you eaten of the tree which I commanded you not to eat of and then fed me ?⁴⁵ For, look how my eyes are opened and my teeth set on edge. She said to him :⁴⁶ Just as my teeth have been set on edge, so may the teeth of all creatures be set on edge.

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says : To what was Eve to be compared at that hour ? To a man who married a woman who was a proselyte and said to her : Don't eat from the loaf of bread until you wash your hands, p. 7 and don't eat any fruit until you have tithed them. She went and ate from the loaf of bread without washing her hands and she ate of the fruits without tithing and (temptation) found entry through this.⁴⁷

Rabbi says :⁴⁸ To what was Eve to be compared at that hour ? To

eating ; therefore, the author of PRE must have seen touching (and Gen. 3:4) as a violation of God's commandment (not just of Adam's).

Eve's fear that she will die and that Adam will take a second wife is also found in BerRab 19:5 (T-A, p. 174) and PRE 13.

⁴⁵ Adam's question to Eve is almost the same as the question God asks Adam in Gen. 3:11.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Legends*, V, p. 96, n. 68 for this reading. Mss. R, P, and N and PRE read : He said to her. But it is Eve's turn to speak and the sentiments following are hers. See BerRab 19:4 (T-A, p. 173) where she specifically makes the animals eat. The image of teeth being set on edge is found in PRE 13.

Thus far ARNB's section on Adam has interpreted Gen. 3:1-6. Now B turns to two parables.

⁴⁷ This and the following parable occur in A (p. 6 ; G pp. 12-13), separated by some other material from the direct interpretations of Gen. 3:1-6. Here in B the first parable puts the blame for transgression on the woman. In A, however, the man gives his wife bad example by not doing himself what he had told her to do. Version A fits the events [in Gen. 3:1-6 less well than B ; see note 49 below for a line of interpretation which, like the parable in ARNA, makes Adam the guilty party (See Bacher, II, p. 435, n. 2 ; Schechter A p. 6, n. 76] says that the parable was a general one used to instruct women.)

The final clause of this section is unclear. See ARNB p. 5, l. 45 for this expression and note 37 above. The form *māṣā' ha-petaḥ* (he found an [the] opening) is troublesome because it does not fit grammatically. Perhaps read with H and N : *māṣe'āh petaḥ* (she found an opening) where the "h" becomes part of the verb. But who found a weak spot or entry—he or she or something, e.g., temptation ? Bacher (II, p. 435, n. 2) suggests the translation : her husband found an opportunity to punish her (that is, to divorce her). That interpretation, especially the idea of divorce, is far from clear in context. Perhaps Bacher got the idea from the conclusion of the following parable, as found in A, where the man does divorce his wife. The phrase could also mean that Adam found a pretext for blaming Eve (Gen. 3:12). In the end, none of the readings is really clear.

⁴⁸ A parable similar to this one is given in A (p. 6 ; G pp. 12-13) in the name of Rabbi

a king who married a wife and gave her authority over the silver and gold and over all his possessions and said : Everything I own is yours except for this jug which is full of scorpions. An old woman came calling on her like those (who drop in to) ask for a little vinegar. She said to her : How does the king treat you. She said to her : The king treats me wonderfully for he has given me authority over the silver and gold and over all his possessions. He said to me : Everything of mine is yours except for this jug which is full of scorpions. The old woman said to her : Why, all his precious jewels are inside it ! He is simply seeking to marry another woman and give them to her. She reached out and opened the jar : the scorpions bit her and she died.⁴⁹

- p. 8 The king is Adam. The wife is Eve. The one seeking to borrow vinegar is the serpent, as Scripture says : "The Serpent was more subtle than any other wild creature ... (Gen. 3:1)." And why did all this have to happen ? Because Adam was unable to persist in obedience of a light commandment which God had given him to observe.⁵⁰

Simeon ben Yohai. Rabbi's name here in B cannot be dismissed since it occurs here after a midrash by Simeon ben Eleazar and it occurred just previously in B (p. 5) along with Simeon ben Eleazar; see note 39. On the other hand, since Rabbi and Simeon ben Eleazar often disagree with each other, their names may have tended to occur together and thus Rabbi's name could have displaced Simeon ben Yohai's since this material is in a context containing Rabbi and Simeon ben Eleazar.

⁴⁹ This parable resembles the Greek story of Pandora, who removed the lid of the jar and let out evil on the world (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 570ff; *Works and Days*, 50ff; Lieberman, *Hellenism*, p. 136, n. 86). The Pandora myth is the Greek alternate to Gen. 3, though in Hesiod Pandora is presented as much more evil (*Theog.*, 589-93).

The parable as told in ARNA is closer to the Greek version than that in B, PRE 13 and BerRab 19:10 (T-A, pp. 179-80) because Pandora and the wife in A act of sheer curiosity, without the old woman (man in PRE) who comes to borrow vinegar and casts suspicion on the husband. In B the story fits closely Gen. 3:1-6.

Bacher (p. 141, n. 1) asserts that the story in ARNA is original; but this is not clear. If the parable was originally inspired by Pandora, then A is original, and B is a further development made to fit Gen. 3:1-6 more exactly. But, a parable based on Gen. 3:1-6 may have been original and later influenced by the Greek story. Or, more likely, both developed separately. For further proof of this, see the following note, where the two interpretations of this parable hint at two separate parables focused on Gen. 3:1-6 and on Gen. 3:11.

⁵⁰ Two interpretations of the parable are mingled in this paragraph. The first interpretation fits this parable and the events in Gen. 3:1-6 very tightly : Adam commands Eve. A third party (the serpent) convinces Eve to break the commandment. Death follows.

But a second interpretation is given : Adam was unable to observe a light commandment and so all this happened. BerRab 19:10 (T-A, p. 180) ends similarly with the king's words to his wife likened to God's words to Adam in Gen. 3:11. ARNA ends with the

The Sages said : On one and the same day man was created, God gave him the commandment, man ate and was driven out (of Eden).⁵¹ During the first hour God gathered his dust. During the second hour he conferred with the ministering angels. During the third he kneaded the dust. During the fourth he shaped it. During the fifth he blew breath into it. During the sixth he stood him on his feet. During the seventh he brought him into the Garden of Eden. During the eighth man was given the commandment. During the ninth he sinned. During the tenth he transgressed His commandment. During the eleventh he was judged.⁵² During the twelfth hour He drove Adam out, as Scripture says : "He drove out the man... (Gen. 3:34)."⁵³

husband divorcing his wife (who evidently is not dying, as she says she is, unless there is also a hint of this ending in A). In these versions the guilty party (the wife) is equivalent to Adam and the husband is God who sends him out of the Garden of Eden because of disobedience. No third party is involved. This second line of thought is reflected in the last sentence of this paragraph in B.

⁵¹ This first sentence beginning "On one and the same day" is found only in Ms. N. Parallel sections occur in Ch. 42 (p. 116), in A p. 6 (G p. 11) and in Tan, *Shemini*, 8. Here and in Ch. 42 and in Tanhuma the "On one and the same day" pattern precedes the section describing the twelve hours of man's creation day. In A the section of the twelve hours has already occurred; the "On the one and the same day" section is preceded by the same two parables which precede it here, too.

B, Ch. 42, and A are parallel in content to the section on the twelve hours, but here and in Tanhuma the section is much shortened.

⁵² Ms. P reads : He (God) judged him (*dānō*). Cf. also PesRab 46:2 (Friedmann, 187b; Braude, p. 791).

⁵³ Items nine and ten ("He sinned" and "He disobeyed God's commandment") are tautological. This list of the twelve hours of the first Friday occurs nine other places in Rabbinic literature and these lists have either one or the other of these phrases, but not both.

The lists form two rough groups. The tighter group is LevRab 29:1 (Margulies, p. 669); PesRab 46:2 (Friedmann, 187b; Braude, p. 791); Tan, *Shemini*, 8; TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 18; *Lev.*, p. 31. A more loose group is formed by ARNA p. 5, ll. 21ff. (G p. 11); and p. 6 (G p. 13); Sanh 38b and PRE 11. In this second group ARNA has several unique peculiarities early in the list; in all, it is closest to Sanh 38b. PRE and ARNB, Chs. 1 and 42, have features common to both groups but are a bit closer to ARNA and Sanh. Cf. PesRab, Friedmann, 187b, n. 34 and LevRab, ed. Margulies, p. 668, note on line 7. See Appendix 1 where these lists are presented in parallel columns.

Version A has a long digression on creation which includes this material and much more.

CHAPTER TWO

Where are we told that Job¹ made a hedge about his words. Scripture says: "That man was blameless and upright, one who feared God, and turned away from evil (Job 1:8)." In this vein Job used to say: Keep away from what is hideous and anything like it.² Moreover, he also used to say: "I have made a covenant with my eyes; how then could I look upon a virgin (Job 31:1)?" If I never looked at a virgin whom a man may take in marriage, or give in marriage to his son, his grandson or his sister's son³ and who herself is permitted to be married to any man she pleases, all the more in regard to another man's wife.⁴

¹ According to the Rabbis Job lived contemporaneously with the Patriarchs (BabBat 15a; *Legends*, V, p. 381, n. 3). Version B, then, has Job in chronological order after Adam and before Moses and the Torah. Version A, however, presents the order: Adam, Torah, Moses, Job. Perhaps this order is prompted by Version A's emphasis on Torah (Goldin: "Two Versions", p. 2). According to Schechter the chronological order in B was probably original (pp. 9-10, n. 7).

² One who fears God obviously avoids sin. What, then, does the phrase "turned away from evil" mean? It means that Job used to avoid even things which were not actually evil but which were hideous or ugly (*ki'úr*) and might lead to evil or sin (cf. A p. 12, l. 5; G p. 22-23).

The injunction to avoid what is hideous and anything like it is found in A p. 9, l. 16 (G p. 17) connected to Lev. 18:6 and the hedge erected by Torah about its words. Both occurrences concern relations with women. NumRab 10:8 follows A in this and in the following comment by the Sages about keeping away from minor sin and being quick to carry out a minor commandment. TosHul 2:24 (p. 503) connects avoiding what is hideous with Prov. 5:8 (see Ch. 3, nn. 11 and 15 for other uses of Prov. 5:8).

³ "His son, his grandson or his sister's son" occurs again in Ch. 30 (p. 65). It seems to be a stereotyped phrase used of relations.

⁴ Both ARNA and B follow the interpretation of Job 1:1 with that of 31:1. The commandments forbid Job to covet another man's wife, but he goes further and does not even look on a virgin, who is free to marry. Job's attitude resembles that of the New Testament: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall not commit adultery', but I say to you that every one who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart (Matt. 5:27-28)."

The Rabbis took a cautious attitude toward women. Raba put Job in his place by noting that Abraham had not even looked upon his wife (BabBat 16a). A man must not stay with a female relative in an inn, nor talk with even his wife in the marketplace because of public opinion (A p. 35; G p. 48). Further negative (and positive) opinions are recorded in Taylor: *Sayings*, p. 29, n. 12. Cf. also Moore, II, pp. 269-70.

p. 9 Rabbi Judah ben Batyra⁵ says : Job used to reason with himself, "What would be my portion from God above, and my heritage from the Almighty on high (Job 31:2)?" If it had been appropriate for ten wives to be given to Adam, God would have given them to him. But it was not appropriate for him to be given more than just one wife. One wife alone was appropriate for him; and for me too my wife is sufficient, my portion is sufficient.⁶

Another interpretation. "I have made a covenant with my eyes; how then could I look upon a virgin (Job 31:1)?" Just as in the case of a virgin—who may be married to whomever she pleases—if I stared at her, it is as though I had been staring at another man's wife, [so in the case of a married woman, how much the more...].⁷

Where are we told that Moses made a hedge about his words? In the passage in Scripture where God told him: "Go to the people and

⁵ Judah ben Batyra was a student of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus who opened a school in Nisbis, a city on the road to Babylon (Bacher, I, pp. 374-80). Schechter (p. xxv, n. 7) thinks that this passage is a late addition to ARNB.

⁶ ARNB now interprets the next verse, Job 31:2, and concludes that Job did not look at a virgin, who was free to marry, with a view toward marrying her because he himself was already married and had reasoned from the case of Adam and Eve that God desired monogamy rather than polygamy. [By chance the writer happened upon the report of a controversy between an English churchman, John Wilson, and a Mohammedan, Agha Haji Moohummud Hashim Isfahane, on polygamy (*The Oriental Spectator* 3 [Jan., 1832], 23). Wilson's first argument against polygamy was that God had only given Adam one wife and could have given him more if he wished him to have more.]

This passage is a strong polemical statement against polygamy, which was both legal and clearly existent during the Talmudic period (see Epstein, *Marriage Law*, pp. 12-25). Rulers, some Rabbis, and a minority of the people practiced polygamy but from the last centuries B.C. the common opinion disapproved of it (though the right to polygamy was never disputed). This prevailing attitude is strongly championed here by Judah ben Batyra.

ARNB itself presumed monogamy on p. 16, l. 8 (see Goldin, "Third Chapter," p. 377, n. 29). The Essenes championed monogamy on the basis of Lev. 18:18—see L. Ginzberg, *Eine Unbekannte Jüdische Sekte*, New York, 1922, pp. 24-26. As a digression, the further argument about possible celibacy among the Essenes is summarized in Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Anchor, rev. ed., 1961), pp. 96ff. See Philo *Hypothetica* 11:14-17 and also C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (1958), p. 16ff.

⁷ The last sentence begins with *mh*, which in this context indicates that a comparison is being made. But the second term of the comparison, introduced by 'p, is never given in any of the Mss. See ARNA p. 13 (G p. 24); Tan, *Wayyishlah*, 5; TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 170 for a similar thought. The central thrust of all versions is that Job would not even look at a virgin completely free to marry, so there is no question of his looking at a married woman. This same point is made at the end of the previous paragraph.

p. 10 consecrate them today and tomorrow (Ex. 19:10)." Here, then are two days. Now Moses our Master kept turning over the matter in his mind: Perhaps a woman might go discharge seed (on the third day) and arrive and stand before Mount Sinai; it might turn out that Israel would receive the Torah in a state of impurity.⁸ What did he do? He added an extra day, as Scripture says: "Be ready by the third day; do not go near a woman (Ex. 19:15)." Where do we learn that God agreed with what he did? Scripture says: "And be ready by the third day (Ex. 19:11)."⁹

⁸ "Today and tomorrow" in Ex. 19:10 imply a two day purification. But Moses tells people to be ready by the third day (Ex. 19:15), implying three days of purification. Both the first and last days mentioned are counted as part of the period of purification. Mishnah Shabbat 9:3 (cf. Mikwa'oth 8:3) interprets Ex. 19:15 to mean that a woman discharging semen on the third day after intercourse is rendered unclean. After three days the semen is considered dead, no longer a life force and not a cause of uncleanness. Moses' three day prohibition of sexual intercourse protects the people from this danger of uncleanness and teaches them that three days of purification are needed.

The Talmud (Shab 86a & b; Yeb 62a) notes that Moses interpreted God's command to consecrate the people today and tomorrow to mean consecrate them for two *whole* days (from sunset to sunset). Since the day on which they received the command (Wednesday) had already begun and could not be a *whole* day of consecration (though it does count in the total), Moses added an extra *whole* day, thus increasing the total of days to three.

This particular view of Moses' reasoning occurs only in the two sources quoted above and then only in one place: within the formulation that Moses decided three things of his own accord; and the three things are named and the reasoning for each is given. This case itself is set within a larger complex of chronological problems associated with the revelation on Sinai; it presumes the views of R. Jose (see the following note).

One unique variant is found in PRE, Ch. 41, where Moses reasons that someone might sleep with his wife on the first night; so by adding a third day of purification, even this woman will undergo the necessary two days of purification.

⁹ If Moses had decided incorrectly, the two days of purification would have been over on Friday and God would have come on Friday. But he came on the Sabbath, implicitly approving of Moses' decision.

How does Ex. 19:11 show God's approval of Moses' adding a day? The verses in this section are quoted out of order: Ex. 19:10, 15 and 11. In itself this presents no problem, since there is no earlier or later in Scripture (Mekh to Ex. 15:9 [Lauterbach, II, pp. 54-55]). What has happened? God mentioned two days of purification in Ex. 19:10. Moses instructs the people to purification and readiness on the third day (and so ordains three days of purification) in Ex. 19:15. God himself mentions three days in verse 11. The implied development between 10 and 11 is that Moses has decided on his own to add a day of purification. And God's change to three days in verse 11 (along with his descent to the mount on Sabbath) indicate that he has agreed.

This question is part of a complex of controversies regarding the date of the revelation on Sinai, etc. See Ch. 1, nn. 3, 4, 5, Shab 86-87; Yoma 4.

Moses reasoned about the matter and kept away from his wife.¹⁰ He said : In if regard to Israel, which is not a special vessel and with whom He speaks only occasionally, the Holy One, blessed be He, said that they were to be separated from their wives, then does it not stand to reason that I who am a special vessel and with whom he speaks all the time, so that I do not know when he will speak with me, should stay away from my wife ? Where do we learn that God agreed with what he did ? Scripture says : "Go and say to them, 'Return to your tents' (Dt. 5:27)." Was Moses also included in the permission (to return to his tent) ? Scripture teaches : "But as for you, you stand here by me (Dt. 5:28)." Say then : Israel was permitted to return, but Moses was still forbidden to do so.¹¹

¹⁰ ARNA and B now list three occasions where Moses reasoned by inference, acted of his own accord and received God's approval. B lists : separation from his wife, breaking of the Tablets, and leaving the tent of meeting. In A the tent of meeting is placed second and a long discourse on the Tablets is placed third.

Other sources (Shab 87a; Yeb 62a) list three occasions when Moses acted of his own accord and received God's approval : addition of a day of purification, separation from his wife and breaking of the Tablets. The first item in these latter lists, addition of a day of purification, has been used in ARN as an example of Moses making a hedge about his words. Then ARN records the two items usually associated with the extra day, separation from his wife and breaking of the Tablets, under the usual rubric, Moses acting of his own accord. But to complete the usual number of these incidents in ARN, where one of the incidents has been pre-empted, another incident is added : Moses leaving the tent of meeting.

Exodus Rabbah twice (19:3; 46:3) records three occasions when Moses acted of his own accord : separation from his wife (and the following material found in A, with slight changes); leaving the tent of meeting; and breaking of the Tablets. The order is that of ARNA and Exodus Rabbah, a late compilation.

¹¹ Moses decided to give up sexual relations with his wife permanently (*Legends*, III, p. 107; VI, n. 239) and God approved of his decision in Dt. 5:28. Thus Moses remained under the prohibition of Dt. 5:1 whereby Israel was summoned to hear God's word. The rest of Israel was permitted to return to their tents (Dt. 5:27). Leaving one's tent implies, to the Rabbis, abstaining from sexual relations.

Version A (p. 10; G p. 19) separates the interpretation into three parts : a) Moses is said to have decided of his own accord, but no Scriptural proof is offered; b) two Scriptural verses are offered to prove that *God* commanded Moses not to return to his wife : Num. 12:8 and Dt. 5:27-28; c) in the last sentence of the interpretation of Dt. 5:27-28, where A takes Dt. 5:28 to mean that God ordered Moses not to return to his wife, the text reads : "And his judgment coincided with God's." This last line, then, implies that Moses actually decided on this separation from his wife himself.

The Talmud (Shab 87a; Yet 62a) cites Dt. 5:28 as a proof that God approved of Moses' independent decision to separate from his wife. Shabbat adds that some cite Num. 12:8 instead of Dt. 5:28. It seems that the three incidents of Moses acting of his

Moses reasoned about the matter and broke the Tablets of the Law. He said : The Tablets were given to Israel only that they might carry out the Torah, and now it stands to reason that I should smash them. A parable is told. To what may this be likened ? To a king who said to his messenger : Go and in my behalf betroth such-and-such woman. The messenger went and found her the wife of a man.¹² Now in that that messenger was a clever person, he said : If I give her the (betrothal) document, it will turn out that I made her liable to the penalty of death.¹³ What did he do ? He took the document and tore it up. Moses reasoned the same way : If I give the Tablets to Israel, it will turn out that I made them liable to total destruction, for Scripture says : "Whoever sacrifices to any (other) God shall be utterly destroyed (Ex. 22:19)." What did he do ? He took hold of the two Tablets and smashed them, as Scripture says : "So I took hold of the two Tablets, and cast them out of my two hands, and broke them before your eyes (Dt. 9:17)." Where do we learn that God agreed with what he did ?

own accord are the primary nugget of tradition. But some of the transmitters of the tradition were apparently bothered by the immensity of what Moses had decide ; celibacy, even after begetting two sons, is not a Jewish tradition. Therefore, they transferred some of the verses and arguments to show that God had first commanded Moses to take this step.

¹² I follow Mss. H, P, and N. Ms. R has 'm'hd.

¹³ The parable implies that the woman was already promised to the king in some way and was expected to receive the betrothal document as an official act inevitably leading to marriage.

In Version A the woman is already betrothed but the official document has not yet been given to her and so she is not legally liable to death for "infidelity", (Epstein, *Marriage Contract*, p. 8). Epstein, *Marriage Contract*, pp. 7-12 deals with the marriage contract's place in a legal marriage and in particular with two other versions of this parable in ExRab 43:1 and 46:1. In general, Mesopotamian and Jewish law considered marriage without a written contract to be concubinage and so not legal marriage. But the Talmud did know of contractless marriages.

Epstein notes that the versions of the story in ExRab imply that a public marriage had already taken place (not true for either ARNA or B) and that ripping up the marriage document makes the marriage invalid and frees the woman from liability to death.

The woman's relation to the king is clearer in A than in B. In A she is betrothed (without a document) while in B she is not clearly betrothed. ARNA, however, only implies that the steward is coming a second time to give the girl the marriage contract and it fails to conclude explicitly that the steward ripped up the marriage contract. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 127-28) argues that the original form of the story is in A.

The word "consecrate" in Ex. 19:10 [*qiddaštam*] comes from the same root as the word for betrothals [*qiddušin*] and several midrashic comments make a point of this (NumRab 9:44; 12:4; 12:8; DtRab 3:12). Perhaps this line of reasoning suggested the parable of the king and his betrothed.

Scripture says : "At that time the Lord said to me, 'Hew two tablets of stone like the first... (Dt. 10:1).'" Thus He agreed to his smashing them.¹⁴

Moses reasoned about it¹⁵ and withdrew from the tent of meeting. He said : If I could not ascend Mount Sinai, whose sanctity was only temporary, until I was called, all the more as regards the tent of meeting whose sanctity is permanent, that I should not enter it until I am called. Where do we learn that God agreed with what he did? Scripture says : "The Lord called Moses and spoke to him from the tent of meeting... (Lev. 1:1)."¹⁶

¹⁴ Literally : "He agreed with him concerning their smashing." ARNA has several stories of Moses' smashing the Tablets of the Law. These are followed by no less than six authorities stating that God ordered Moses to break them, each quoting a different verse to prove his contention. Clearly many people were uncomfortable with the thought that Moses had taken it on himself to cast aside the very foundation of Judaism and of the Bible itself, the Tables of the Commandments. One midrash even states that God reproached Moses for breaking the Tablets (DtRab 3:14).

¹⁵ A copyist wrote here in Ms. R: "The Holy One, blessed be he, judged the case of Moses." He, too, was bothered by Moses acting of his own accord and modified the text. For correct text, see Mss. P and N.

¹⁶ In the last chapter of Exodus (40) Moses erects the tabernacle of the tent of meeting. Then the cloud of glory fills the tabernacle and Moses is unable to enter the tent of meeting (Ex. 40:34-35). Immediately afterward, in the first verse of Leviticus, God calls Moses and speaks to him from the tent of meeting to give him the Law—just as he called him and spoke to him on Mount Sinai to give him the commandments (Ex. 19:3). This withdrawal of Moses and then immediate recall to the tent of meeting is explained by his humility and by God's recognition of it.

A sets Moses' withdrawal from the tent of meeting in a completely different context : even Aaron, who was anointed and clothed for priestly service, is not allowed in the holy place at all times (Lev. 16:2)—how much more Moses. No verse is given with the statement that God agreed with Moses judgment.

Moses' withdrawal from the tent of meeting as one of the occasions when Moses acted of his own accord exists only in these two versions (and in ExRab 19:3 and 46:3, which are similar to ARNA). Neither of the versions is clearly derivative of the other.

CHAPTER THREE

- p. 12 Where are we told that the Torah made a hedge about its words? Scripture says: "None of you shall approach any one near of kin to him to uncover nakedness (Lev. 18:6)." What does Scripture teach in: "You shall not approach"? It means that a man shall not be alone with his mother-in-law or with his daughter-in-law. He may however be alone with them for a little while, for there is nothing (wrong) with that.¹ In the same way Scripture says: "You shall not approach a woman to uncover her nakedness while she is in her menstrual uncleanness (Lev. 18:19)." How is he warned (to keep away from her)? Scripture teaches: "You shall not approach."² May he perhaps flirt with her while she is a menstruant? Scripture teaches: "You shall not approach to uncover her nakedness." How is she warned (to keep away from him)? Scripture teaches: "She shall not approach."³ May she perhaps dress up in her robe and sleep beside him while she is menstrually unclean? Scripture teaches: "She shall not approach." Where do we learn that she may cook for him and wait on him? Scripture teaches: "You shall not approach *to uncover her nakedness*."⁴ On the basis of this the Sages said that every woman who dresses up

¹ B first interprets "You shall not approach" in Lev. 18:6 and then moves on to the same phrase in 18:19. According to the interpretation of Lev. 18:6 men must not be alone even with female relatives, except for a short time. Version A(p. 9; G p. 17; cf. NumRab 10:8; 19:3; 46:3) applies this verse to being alone with women, even relatives, in an inn.

Concerning talking with women and being with them, see Ch. 15 (pp. 34-35): "Talk not overmuch with women."

² That is to say, she warns him that she is a menstruant and tells him not to approach her. See Schechter, p. 12, n. 2. The text is difficult here.

³ The Hebrew for "You shall not approach" and "She shall not approach" is identical, so the phrase is understood here as "She shall not approach." That is to say, the husband warns her of her obligations during her menstrual period. See Schechter, p. 12, n. 4 for textual difficulty.

⁴ The expression "You (she) shall not approach" has been interpreted to exclude flirting and sleeping side by side fully clothed. NumRab 10:8 details embracing, kissing and conversation instead of flirting. Shab 13a records the prohibition against sleeping side by side as a ruling of the School of Hillel against the School of Shammai, which allowed it.

The additional clause "to uncover her nakedness" in Lev. 18:19 limits the injunction against approaching and allows a wife to cook and to serve her husband.

when she is menstrually unclean displeases the Sages,⁵ for Scripture says: "Your belly is a heap of wheat, hedged in with lilies (Song 7:3)." "Your belly is a heap of wheat." This refers to Israel. "Hedged in with lilies." This refers to the just.⁶

Another interpretation. "Your belly is a heap of wheat." This refers to Israel. "Hedged in," refers to the Sages and their pupils, for by their prayers they protect Israel from calamity. If this is so,⁷ why does Scripture say: "Hedged in by lilies?" Supposing a man's wife is a menstruant and she is alone with him at home; perhaps he may come to her. Is there anyone to prevent him (from having her). Or again, supposing a man has untithed fruits in his house; perhaps he may use

⁵ See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 22-23. The original law, taught by the School of Shammai, directed the woman to make herself unattractive when she was menstruant, neither washing her face, not painting her eyes, nor adorning herself (A p. 8; G p. 16; NumRab 10:8). Akiba modified this regulation so that the woman's self-neglect would not disgust her husband and cause him to divorce her (Sifra, 79c; Shab 64b; JerGit, end). Version B diverges from the earlier tradition recorded in A by not insisting that a woman make herself repulsive during her menstrual period. Unlike Akiba, however, B does not allow her to dress up and ornament herself.

⁶ See ARNA p. 9 (G pp. 17-18). In this series of three interpretations of Song 7:3 the editor of ARNB is interested in the third interpretation where the commandments concerning the menstruant are compared to the lilies of Song 7:3. These first two interpretations, referring the verse to Israel, the just, and the Sages, are not immediately germane to the matter at hand. But, they are found linked with the relevant interpretation concerning menstruation both here and in PesRab 10:3-4 (Friedmann, 35a & b; Braude, pp. 172-76). Hence, the three interpretations were previously linked in sources.

In PesRab a long series of interpretations compare Israel to wheat. The second half of Song 7:3, however, is not interpreted to refer to the Sages or the just. What do these interpretations mean here? In the second interpretation, the Sages are said to be a protection for Israel, somewhat analogously to the way in which the commandments of menstruation and tithes, which occur below, are a protection to Israel from sin. No reason is given for the referring of lilies to the just in the first interpretation, but perhaps the same line of thought is implied.

⁷ The Hebrew transitional phrase, *'im kēn* (found in all Mss.) does not fit the context and leaves the relationship of the previous two interpretations of Song 7:3 to this one in doubt. Its use may reflect the confusion or doubt of an editor or copyist.

The onset of a woman's menstrual period (when intercourse is forbidden) is signaled by the first spot of blood, called *šōšānāh 'dūmmāh* (red lily). This usage probably suggested the connection between menstruation and Song 7:3 where lilies are mentioned. Whether the interpretation of the lilies as laws of different kinds, found in ARNA and B, PesRab, Song Rab. 7:2 and Tan, *Tisa'* 2, preceded or derived from this interpretation concerning the menstrual laws is not clear. Song 7:3 is often interpreted elsewhere as the Sanhedrin, which is the navel of the earth (Sot 45: Sanh 14; 37a; NumRab 1:4; Tan, *Tisa'*, 2; TanBub, *Tisa'*, p. 52; *Debarim*, p. 1).

- p. 13 some of them. Is there anyone to prevent him? But these are commandments that Israelites carry out in the privacy (of their homes) and they are as tender⁸ as lilies. That is why Scripture says: "Hedged in with lilies."

Where are we told that the prophets made a hedge about their words? Scripture says: The lion has roared; who will not fear (Amos 3:8)? Perhaps His voice is only like the voice of a lion. Say then: Who gave a voice to the lion? Is it not He? But this is the way He is described metaphorically to His creatures so that the ear be unoffended and able to hear.⁹

So too, Scripture says: "And behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters ... (Ez. 43:2)."¹⁰ Say then: Who gave a voice to the waters: Was it not He? But this is the way he is described metaphorically to his creatures so that the ear be unoffended and able to hear.

So too Scripture says: "While the mountain burned with fire to the heart of heaven ... (Dt. 4:11)."¹¹

⁸ Ms. R reads "numerous as lilies," while all the other Mss. and sources (see the preceding note) read "tender as lilies." Either word is possible and a copyist could easily mistake the two similar Hebrew words, *rabbôt* and *rakkôt*. Since the other sources make the explicit comparison between *tender* lilies and the *rough* thorns, which usually surround and protect a vineyard, tender is probably correct.

⁹ The commentator first refutes those who would reduce God's voice to that of a mere lion. He then explains why the prophets had to tone down their speech (hedge it in). The exegetical observation that metaphorical language is used so that the ear be unoffended and able to hear occurs elsewhere in Rabbinic literature and is one of several exegetical rules used by allegorical interpreters of Scripture. See Mech. on Ex. 19:18 (Lauterbach, II, p. 221); MechRS, p. 144; Tan, *Yitro*, 13; MidPs 1:3 (Braude, I, p. 5); Marmorstein, *Doctrine of God*, Vol. 2, pp. 120-22. Marmorstein connects this phrase with the School of Ishmael (but not in opposition to the School of Akiba which is also allegorical — Marmorstein, pp. 126ff.). Other Rabbis vigorously opposed the allegorical tendency which opened the way to paganism or gnosticism (Marmorstein, pp. 122-26). Marmorstein's studies show that the tradition grappled with anthropomorphism and metaphorical language over a long period. BerRab 27:1 (T-A, pp. 255-56) summarizes their dilemma with its carefully neutral statement "The Prophets show great daring in likening the Creator to the creature."

¹⁰ The objection, "Perhaps this voice is only like the voice of a lion," has perhaps been omitted here.

¹¹ The presence of this verse, Dt. 4:11, is puzzling. It is introduced by a formula which makes it parallel to the verses concerning the lion's roar and water's voice, but it is not followed by an interpretation like the previous verse. In the Mechilta, however, this verse occurs immediately before Amos 3:8 and Ez. 43:2:

"And the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace." (Ex. 19:18) One

Where are we told that the Writing made a hedge about their words? Scripture says: "Keep your way far from her [a loose woman] (Prov. 5:8)."¹² A man is told: Do not walk down this street or enter this alley,¹³ for there is a prostitute here; she is an attractive woman and she seduces all creatures by her beauty. He said: I am confident that although¹⁴ I walk (there), I won't look at her and I won't desire her beauty. He is told: Although you are confident, don't go.

Another interpretation. "Keep your way far from her (Prov. 5:8)." Rabbi Joshua ben Korha¹⁵ says: This refers to the way of heresy.¹⁶ A man is told: Don't go among the heretics and don't listen to their

might think that it was like an ordinary smoke. Therefore it says: "Of a furnace." But if: "Of a furnace", one might still think it was just like that of a furnace. It says, however: "And the mountain burned with fire unto the heart of heaven" (Dt. 4:11). Why then does it say: "Of a furnace"? That the ear might get it in accordance with its capacity of hearing". (Mech, Lauterbach, II, p. 221)

The furnace of Ex. 19:18 is a metaphor for the real phenomenon described in Dt. 4:11. The exegetical pattern in the Mechilta is similar to that in our passage, and perhaps the author had this in mind when he included Dt. 4:11 here. Or, a copyist may have omitted Ex. 19:18 and its development, retaining only the final verse of the interpretation. In any case, something certainly seems omitted here.

¹² Both ARNA and B (and AZ 17a) quote Prov. 5:8 with the literal interpretation, stay away from prostitutes. This provides an added protection (a hedge) against infractions in this area. The illustration following this verse is rather folksy, lacking a technical phrase of introduction. One almost expects the illustration to be a parable with the usual formulaic introduction.

Along with Prov. 5:8 Mss. P and R quotes Prov. 6:25 "Do not desire her beauty in your heart." Schechter brackets it, suggesting that it be omitted. It is not found in Ms. N nor is it ever interpreted elsewhere in connection with Prov. 5:8 or avoiding a harlot, so Schechter is probably correct.

¹³ Ms. R reads "sale" (*meker*). Ms. P reads "large (fortified) city" (*kerek*). Version A (p. 14; G p. 25) reads: "alley" (*mabuy*). Ms. N has, strangely, *byt zgy*. The Mss. of B do not make sense, so I have followed Version A in my translation.

¹⁴ Ms. P reads *š'p'*, often synonymous with Ms. R: *lpy š*. Ms. N has *š'm*.

¹⁵ Joshua ben Korha was active after the Bar Kosiba War (A.D. 135). He engaged in many controversies (Bacher, II, pp. 308-20) but no saying of his is preserved in *Abot*,

¹⁶ Prov. 5:8 is interpreted both in A and B to mean: avoid heretics. In TosHul 2:24 (p. 503) and in AZ 17a a story is told of Rabbi Eliezer, who once discussed a verse with a Christian, Job of Kefar-Sekaniah, and was punished for it since he had violated the injunction (in this verse) to avoid even contract with heretics.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 129-30) explains the first two interpretations of Prov. 5:8 in ARNA as referring explicitly to Christians. He finds that the Mss. read "the house of sectarians" instead of "among the sectarians"; and "wicked sectarians" instead of just "the wicked". These two readings plus several details contained in ARNA suggest Christian practices. Version B retains a more generalized statement.

words lest you stumble because of their works. He said to them : I am confident that although I go, I won't listen to their words and I won't stumble on their deeds. He is told : Even though you are confident, don't go. This is why Scripture says : "Keep your way far from her." And it says : "For many a victim has she laid low (Prov. 7:26)."¹⁷

p. 14 Where are we told that the Sages made a hedge about their words ? The Sages said to recite the evening Shema before midnight. Rabban Gamaliel says until the crowing of the cock.¹⁸ [Why do the Sages say : Until midnight ?] So that a person won't say : Since I am allowed to recite the evening Shema anytime during the night, I will take a nap. When I feel like it, I will recite the Shema. But he is overcome with sleep and fails to recite it. Such a man puts his life in jeopardy. On the basis of this the Sages said : If a man has gone to bed, let him read the Shema. If he is a scholar, let him first read the Shema. And then if he wishes to study, let him study.¹⁹ He who transgresses the words of

¹⁷ In both ARNA and B Prov. 7:26 ends the section concerned with the hedge which the Writings made. In B it comes at the end of the paragraph on the sectarians and in A it comes at the end of the paragraph on the prostitute. Prov. 7:26 was a final general note of warning which remained as the final sentence of the section no matter what the order of previous paragraphs. In *SifreNum* on 15:39 (Horovitz, pp. 126-27) Prov 7:26 is referred to heresy and prostitution. Elsewhere Prov. 7:26 gives other warnings : it refers to disciples deciding cases before they are of age (Sot 22; AZ 19), those who touch another's wife (ExRab 16:2) and those who do not do Torah for its own sake (*Sifre Dt* 306 [Finkelstein, p. 338]).

¹⁸ This is part of the first mishnah, Ber 1:1, which itself mentions that the Sages were making a hedge about the Torah. Ber 1:1 is not quoted further because it is implicitly written according to the opinion of Hillel, contained in Ber 1:3. ARNB assumes that the law is according to the opinion of Shammai and so the further illustration of the law and its hedge is changed accordingly. (See the following note.)

Note a small variation : here Rabban Gamaliel allows recitation of the Shema until the crowing of the cock ; in Ber. 1:1 and ARNA p. 14, l. 27 (G p. 26) it is until the morning star rises. See also *TosBer* 1:2.

The bracketed sentence immediately following aids sense in the English translation, but is not found in the Hebrew.

¹⁹ The whole situation of a man lying in bed and then falling asleep without saying the Shema supposes the teaching of Shammai (Ber 1:3) that the evening Shema must actually be said lying down. Version A and Ber. 4b both present a situation which assumes the Hillelite opinion that the evening Shema may be said in any posture around evening time.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 23-26) proposes that ARNB preserves the early form of this mishnah which was formulated by the School of Shammai and superseded when the School of Hillel became predominant.

ARNA instructs the person who goes to the synagogue in the evening first to study

the Sages puts his life in jeopardy, as Scripture says: "He who digs a pit will fall into it; and a serpent will bite him who breaks through a wall (Qoh. 10:8)."²⁰

Another interpretation. "He who digs a pit will fall into it; and a serpent will bite him who breaks through a wall." This is Dinah, the daughter of Leah, whose brothers and family were sitting and studying in the study house while she went out to look at the women of the land,²¹ as Scripture says: "Now Dinah the daughter of Leah, whom she had borne to Jacob, went out to look at the women of the land (Gen. 34:1)." Who is the serpent who bit her? It was Shechem, the son of Hamor.

Another interpretation. "He who digs a pit will fall into it; and a serpent will bite him who breaks through a wall." This is the blasphemer, as Scripture says: "And the Israelite woman's son blasphemed the Name, and cursed (Lev. 24:11)." Who is the serpent who bit him? It was Moses, as Scripture says: "So Moses spoke to the people of

and then to pray. Version B, on the contrary, instructs him to recite the Shema in bed first and then study, if he is a *scholar*. Version A may reflect the Hillelite position that everyone should study, while B may reflect the Shammaite position that only those of good family, etc., should study. Version A also manifest its tendency to emphasize Torah while B seems to very pointedly retain a primary interest in Prayer (Goldin, "Two Versions," pp. 102-104).

²⁰ Qoh. 10:8 is quoted several times along with the warning that he who transgresses the words of the Sages is in danger of death. This means that people must act according to the majority opinion or the expert opinion of a sage. For example, Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai taught a minority opinion concerned with the aftergrowths during a Sabbath year (AZ 27b; PRK, pp. 193-94; BerRab 79:6 (T-A, pp. 944-45); JerSheb 9:1 (38d), but he would not let his disciples *act* according to his teaching. He quotes Qoh. 10:8 plus the warning mentioned above. Note that he was allowed to teach the opinion, though. In a dispute between Rabban Gamaliel and Rabbi Joshua, the latter's right to teach a minority opinion was upheld (Ber 27b-28a). Similarly, Ber 1:3 upholds practice of the School of Hillel versus that of the School of Shammai, but both opinions are taught. Qoh. 10:8 and the warning are also used in a story where Rabbi Ishmael forbids the healing of Ben Dama by a Christian (AZ 27b and also 17a; TosHul 2:22-23 (p. 503); see also Shab 110 and MidTan, p. 41). Qoh. 10:8 is not cited here in ARNA.

The use of Qoh. 10:8 now brings with it two further interpretations. Both are loosely connected to the theme of the Sages' hedge in that both principals act rashly and suffer for it.

²¹ Dinah was pictured in rabbinic literature as vain (BerRab 80:1 (T-A, pp. 952-53); Tan, *Vayyishlah*, 5-7; TanBub, *Gen.*, pp. 171-72) and her associating with Gentile women was not favored. See *Legends* I, p. 395; V, p. 313, nn. 283-285. None of these sources deals with the clear statement in Gen 34:5 that Jacob's sons were in the fields with the flocks.

Israel; and they brought him who had cursed out of the camp, and stoned him with stones (Lev. 24:23),” for stoning and pushing.²²

²² The final phrase of this section, “for stoning and pushing,” seems puzzling in context but it provides the clue to the third interpretation of Qoh. 10:8. One who was stoned to death, such as the blasphemer of Lev. 24:10ff (Sanh 7:5; Sanh 56), was pushed into a pit twice the height of a man and then, if he was still alive, he was stoned (Sanh 6:4; Sanh 42b-43). The Scriptural basis for this practice is found in Ex. 19:13, where any living thing going up Mount Sinai is to be killed by stoning or pushing. [The Hebrew root *yṛh* can mean pushing or throwing; in context it probably means death by thrown missiles, but the Rabbis read the word according to its other meaning, pushing. Rashi understands it to mean “thrown down from high up.”]

The final phrase of this section of ARNB, then, reminds us that death by stoning includes being pushed into a pit. And this fact also explains how the death by stoning in Lev. 24:10ff. became connected to Qoh. 10:8. “He who digs a pit will fall into it” clearly refers to the practices associated with death by stoning and the theme of Qoh. 10:8, one suffers as a consequence of his actions, fits the case (in Lev. 24:10ff.) of one rash enough to touch the mountain of God.

CHAPTER FOUR

AND RAISE MANY DISCIPLES.¹ The School of Shammai says : Only respectable people should be taught, sons of distinguished fathers and grandfathers. The School of Hillel says : Everyone (should be taught).² A parable is told. To what may this be compared ? To a woman who sets a hen to roost on the eggs. From a large number (of eggs) she produces a few (chickens); but from a small number she does not
p. 15 produce any.³

Rabbi Eliezer says : "In the morning sow your seed and at evening with hold not your hand (Qoh. 11:6)."⁴ (It is to be interpreted) according to its literal meaning : that, if you sowed early, do not sit back and say : That's enough for me. Rather, sow late in case the rains do not come

¹ See A, Ch. 3, pp. 14, ll. 31ff. (G pp. 26 ff). This is the third clause of the saying of the men of the Great Synagogue to be interpreted in ARN. When the saying is quoted as a whole, however, this clause comes second. See Ch. 1, note 16.

² This is the famous distinction between the Schools of Shammai and of Hillel. Version A is more specific than B in enumerating the qualities necessary for studies according to the School of Shammai : the student must be talented, meek and rich as well as of good ancestry. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 29) says that later sages, even of the Shammaite School, could not imagine restricting education to just the rich. Consequently, the later version of the saying in B omits that qualification.

³ This parable supports Hillel's position : if a large number of people study, a few will emerge as great scholars. If only a few study, none will emerge. ARNA, in contrast to B's law of statical prudence (Goldin, "Third Chapter," p. 378), more enthusiastically states that some of the finest scholars came from among sinners drawn to the Torah.

Schechter (p. 15, n. 2) suggests that the parable needs to be more explicitly connected to Qoh. 11:6 (which follows); but it was not originally intended as an interpretation of Qoh. 11:6.

⁴ We now begin reading a midrash of Qoh. 11:6 whose general point is : Do not sit back and be satisfied with what you accomplished early; do more. All four paragraphs of the midrash end with "For you do not know. ..." First, the literal interpretation of the verse by Rabbi Eliezer (cf. BerRab 61:3 (T-A, p. 660); QohRab 11:6; Tan, *Sarah*, 6; and TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 61 where Eliezer's name is not mentioned.)

In BerRab, Tan and TanBub the lemma is Gen. 25:1 where Abraham took another wife and had six children.

Among these parallels where Qoh 11:6 is interpreted similarly to the interpretations in ARNB, BerRab and QohRab are very close to one another and the two Tanhumas are close to each other. Yeb 62b, where the point is Akiba's disciples, stands alone. See also, A, pp. 15-16 (G pp. 28-29). For the whole structure of A, Ch. 3, see Goldin, "Third Chapter."

and the early crop is destroyed or in case blast comes and the late crop is destroyed; or, perhaps, both crops will prosper. "You do not know which will prosper, this or that, or whether both alike will be good (Qoh. 11:6)."

Rabbi Akiba says: If you raised many disciples in your youth, you should not sit back and say: Enough. Rather, in your old age raise (disciples) and increase study of Torah, "for you do not know which will prosper, this or that, or whether both alike will be good."⁵

He used to say: If a poor man came to you in the morning and you gave him an issar and he went away and then another one came in the afternoon, do not say: I already gave to the first (poor man) earlier. p. 16 Rather, it is better to give to the latter, "for you do not know..."⁶

Rabbi Joshua ben Korha says: If you married a wife in your youth and she bore you children and died, you should not sit back and say: Enough. Rather, in your old age increase the propagation of the race, "for you do not know..."⁷

He used to say:⁸ The man who fixes his eye on his wife with the

⁵ This is the key interpretation of Qoh. 11:6 which fits the saying: Raise many disciples. All the sources (see the previous note) agree in associating Rabbi Akiba with this thought. After this interpretation Yeb 62b recounts that Akiba had 12,000 pairs of disciples (see also ARNB p. 29, l. 33 for this number) in the north who died because of envy. Luckily, however, he had continued to make other great disciples, who survived. Ket 63a says he made 12,000 disciples after twelve years and then another 12,000 after twelve more years. BerRab 61:3 (T-A, p. 660) and QohRab 11:6 record the number as 12,000; Tan, *Sarah*, 6 and TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 122 as 300. The numbers may have been conceived to honor Akiba, the teacher par excellence (Finkelstein, *Akiba*, p. 135). For a symbolic interpretation of the 12,000 pairs, see Goldin, "Third Chapter," p. 378, n. 32.

⁶ Third interpretation of Qoh. 11:6 occurs in A (p. 16: G p. 29) under the name of Rabbi Joshua; in A it comes after the following saying, not before it. A and B do not agree extensively in attributing the saying found in this chapter to the same sages. The most agreement is found in those sayings found also in the parallels quoted in note 4.

⁷ In A this interpretation occurs under the name of Rabbi Joshua, that is, Joshua ben Hananiah, a Tanna of the second generation (A.D. 90-130). See Bacher, I, pp. 155-87. All other sources quote Rabbi Joshua saying either this interpretation or the previous one about giving to the poor. Rabbi Joshua ben Korha was a Tanna of the third generation (post-Hadrianic) and a contemporary of the disciples of Akiba.

⁸ "He used to say" in this context is Rabbi Joshua ben Korha. But in A (p. 15; G p. 27) this saying and the two following occur as three of the seven sayings of Akiba. None of the following sayings here in B have an introductory phrase. Because attribution is so unsure in this chapter, the introductory phrase may have been carried over from another context; or all of the sayings may have been anonymous.

This saying and the following three all share a common point—what will happen to someone in the end (or tomorrow) if he does a certain thing now.

hope that she die, so that he might inherit from her or so that he might take another wife, will, in the end, be buried by his wife. And similarly, the wife who fixes her eye on her husband with the hope that he die, so that she might inherit from him or so that she might take another husband, will, in the end, be buried by him.

If a man were the recipient of loving kindness...⁹ I will act like a laborer lest people say : He is a poor man ; and in the end he will be in need of fellowmen.¹⁰

He who throws away his money and destroys his bread in anger, will, in the end, be in need of fellowmen.¹¹

p. 17 He who smashes his furniture and tears his clothes is like one who worships idols, because today his evil impulse¹² tells him : Smash your furniture and tear your clothes ; and tomorrow it says to him : Go and worship idols, and he obeys.¹³

Rabbi Judah says : By three things the world is supported : by envy, lust and mercy.¹⁴ And also, by means of three things was the world created : voice, disposition, and appearance.¹⁵

⁹ This opening is fragmentary. The latter part of the saying probably indicates some kind of ingratitude by the recipient of loving kindness.

¹⁰ This saying does not occur in A, unlike the one before and two following it, which do occur there. It is linked to the saying following it by an identical conclusion : "he will, in the end, be in need of fellowmen."

¹¹ This saying occurs in the same relationship to the one following it both here and in A. Both have the same point : the bad results of rash and violent action.

¹² On the evil impulse, see Moore, I, pp. 474-96 and Schechter, *Aspects*, Chs. 15-16.

¹³ The purpose of these last four paragraphs is not clear. In A they occur as a block of seven sayings of Akiba with a defined purpose (see Goldin, "Third Chapter," pp. 370-73). Here, they are not set in place under anyone's name (except perhaps the first one—see note 8). As the previous notes point out, however, they are linked to one another.

One could suggest that these are sayings of Akiba, joined to Akiba's interpretation of Qoh. 11:6, which in turn interprets : Raise many disciples. The general moral of these four sayings is the relation of what is done now to what happens in the future, and this is roughly similar to the concerns of Qoh. 11:6 and its interpreters. This solution, however, is hazy and unsatisfying.

¹⁴ This and the following trio of qualities parallel the saying of Simeon the Just which begins the chapter immediately following.

See Schechter, p. 17, n. 9 for one explanation of this saying. See also Ch. 5, n. 2. Ms. N skips these two trios.

¹⁵ The three qualities mentioned here are given at the end of Chapter 4 in A (p. 25; G p. 38) as as the characteristics by which God distinguished men from one another. (Sanh 38a lists voice, speech (*'mrh*) and intelligence (*d't*). Perhaps this saying means : "By means of three things has the world (*of human beings*) been created." But admittedly

this interpretation draws on the other versions of the saying. Perhaps the conclusion that the world was created by them came over from the previous sentence.

Schechter (p. 15, n. 10) suggests that these two trios belong in the next chapter, as interpretations of the saying of Simeon the Just. This is the arrangement chosen by the editor of ARNA but he was only able to include the saying at the *end* of the chapter, far from the saying of Simeon the Just. The editor of B, probably unable to include this material immediately after Simeon's saying because the order of interpretation of his saying was already set, did manage to get the material close to Simeon's saying by placing it immediately *before* the saying.

CHAPTER FIVE

p. 18 SIMEON THE RIGHTEOUS WAS AMONG THE LAST OF THE GREAT ASSEMBLY.¹ HE USED TO SAY : ON THREE THINGS THE WORLD STANDS—ON THE TORAH, ON THE TEMPLE SERVICE, AND ON ACTS OF LOVING KINDNESS.²

And so, you find that the ten tribes were exiled precisely because of the sin of neglect of Torah,³ as Scripture says : “Therefore my people go into exile for want of knowledge... Therefore, as the tongue of fire devours the stubble, and as dry grass sinks down in the flame,

¹ For the identity and dating of Simeon the Righteous see George F. Moore, “Simon the Righteous,” in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (1927), pp. 348-64. He was Simeon II, high priest about B.C. 200.

For a summary of views on the nature of the Great Assembly and a good attempt at solving this vexing problem, see Hugo Mantel, “The Nature of the Great Synagogue,” *HTR* 60 (1967), 69-91. Opinions range from that of a continuous body similar to the later Sanhedrin to a couple of meetings of officials and leaders at critical junctures in the nation’s history.

PA and ARNA read : “The last of the men of the Great Assembly” while B has only : “The last of the Great Assembly”. Cf. PA 1:2; A p. 18 (G p. 32). since Simeon is of the Great Assembly and the Torah has already been handed to them, Simeon is not said to have received it.

² For the original meaning of this saying, before it was reinterpreted by Johanan ben Zakkai, see Goldin, “Three Pillars.” Goldin shows that in his saying Simeon meant the books of the Torah, the Temple Service and acts of *piety* (that is, the commandments governing men’s relation to one another). And he probably referred to them as the things on which this *age* (*‘olam* in its Biblical meaning) stood.

The saying recurs later in B (Ch. 30, p. 67, l. 30) in the name of Rabbi Judah. Rabbi Judah was just quoted at the end of the previous chapter concerning a trio of things on which the world stands. Perhaps this type of saying became connected with his name and so Simeon’s saying would then be attributed to him. Even if this were so, it would be odd that a famous saying such as Simeon’s would be substituted. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 72) notes this strange mix-up and suggests that Ch. 30 originally contained the saying of Rabbi Judah which is found at the end of Ch. 4. Because this saying was so strange, someone substituted Rabbi Simeon’s saying there.

³ First the author interprets the word Torah; later in this chapter he will interpret the Temple Service; and in Ch. 8 he interprets the third phrase of the saying, acts of loving kindness.

As an example of how all depends on the Torah, we see what happened to Israel when it forsook the Torah. First, the northern kingdom of Israel, which was exiled in B.C. 721, is dealt with in this paragraph; then the southern kingdom, which was exiled in B.C. 586. After them, Jerusalem and the land are said to go into exile.

so their root will be as rottenness, and their blossom go up like dust; for they have rejected the Torah of the Lord of hosts, and have despised the word of the Holy One of Israel (Is. 5:13 & 24)."⁴

And so you find that the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were exiled precisely because of the sin of neglect of Torah, as Scripture says: "Thus says the Lord, 'For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment,' Why? Because they have rejected the Torah of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes... (Amos 2:4)." It says further: "So I will send fire upon Judah and it shall devour the strongholds of Jerusalem (Amos 2:5)."

And so you find that Jerusalem was destroyed precisely because of the sin of neglect of Torah, as Scripture says: "Who gave up Jacob to the spoiler, and Israel to the robbers?" Why? "Was it not the Lord against whom we have sinned, in whose ways they would not walk, and whose Torah they would not obey (Is. 42:24)?"⁵ Consequently, "he poured upon him the heat of his anger... (Is.42:25)."

And so you find that the land (of Israel)⁶ went into exile precisely because of the sin of neglect of Torah, as Scripture says: "Therefore, hear, O nations, and know, O congregation, what will happen to them... behold, I am bringing evil upon this people, the fruit of their devices, because they have not given heed to my words; and as for my Torah, they have rejected it (Jer. 6:18-19)."

And in addition, Scripture says: "Who is the man so wise that he can understand this? To whom has the mouth of the Lord spoken,

⁴ Is. 5:13 mentions exile and knowledge. Verse 24 adds the notion of rejecting the Torah. What does neglect of Torah mean? Both neglect of study and of practice seems to be implied by the Scriptural expression "*lim'os tôrat-YHWH*," as found in context in this verse and those following. No clear emphasis is placed on either study or practice. In A (p. 18; G p. 32), on the contrary, *study* of Torah replaces the burnt offerings (which can no longer be offered since the Temple was destroyed). Naturally A does not imply a devaluation of obedience; nevertheless, study is emphasized. This may fit the thematic tendency of A to emphasize Torah and B to stress practice (see Goldin, "Two Versions").

Version A uses Hos. 6:6 to interpret "the Torah". Version B uses it to interpret "acts of loving-kindness" in Ch. 8, p. 22.

⁵ This third entry on the list of those things harmed by neglect of Torah, Jerusalem, is suggested by the last half of the final verse quoted in the previous paragraph: "...and it shall devour the strongholds of Jerusalem (Amos 2:5b)." The verse (Is. 42:24) adduced as proof that Jerusalem's neglect of Torah led to disaster mentions only Judah and Israel, but not Jerusalem. Something is wrong with this section.

⁶ The land (of Israel) and the people who inhabit it are identified. The people are exiled and the land itself laid waste. Both are signified by the one word land.

that he may declare it? Why is the land ruined and laid waste like a wilderness, so that no one passes through?" And following this it is written: "Because they have forsaken my Torah ... (Jer. 9:11-12)."

AND ON THE SERVICE. This is the temple service.⁷ And so you find that while the temple service existed, the world was blessed, low prices were prevalent and grain and wine were plentiful; people ate until satisfied and domestic animals ate until satisfied,⁸ as Scripture says: "And I will give grass in your fields for your cattle... (Dt. 11:15)."⁹ But once the Temple was destroyed, blessing left the world, as Scripture says: "Take heed lest your heart be deceived, and you turn aside and serve other gods and worship them, and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you and he shut up the heavens so that there be no rain and the land yield no fruit, and you perish quickly off the good land which the Lord gives you. (Dt. 11:16-17)."¹⁰

And in addition Scripture says: "And I have called for a drought upon the land and the hills... (Hag. 1:11)." And in addition Scripture says: "Since they were...¹¹ when one came to a heap of twenty mea-

⁷ "Abodah" (work, service) also means worship in MH and especially the Temple worship.

⁸ In actual fact, after the Temple was destroyed in C. E. 70, the Jews in Palestine did endure hard times. This was repeated in the Revolt of Bar Cochba (C.E. 135) when the southern part of the country was definitively devastated and economic hardship became a constant factor in life (see M. Avi-Yonah, *Geschichte der Juden in Zeitalter des Talmud*, Berlin, 1962). The loss of the Temple was seen as the cause of many losses in Israel, social, spiritual and economic.

⁹ The verse quoted, Dt. 11:15, substantiates the last claim made: that the domestic animals have plenty to eat. The previous verse (14), *implies* support of the claim to abundance of food since it speaks of the rains: "He will give the rain for your land in its season, the early rain and the later rain, that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil".

Version A says that the blessing to be realized from the temple is rain and then quotes Dt. 11:13-15, which is an exact support for his claim.

¹⁰ Dt. 11:16-17 implies that rain is the source of all blessing on the land and that, with its cessation, blessing leaves the land. Note that these verses continue Dt. 11:15 used above. This section of Deuteronomy seems to have been an early element in the interpretation of "the Temple service."

¹¹ The Hebrew "*mihyôlām*" is difficult. The RSV gives "How did you fare?" (Greek version) and the Jewish Publication Society version has "Through all that time" (Targum and Syriac). See Hinckley G. Mitchell, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah*, (New York, 1912), p. 74; Tony André, *Le Prophete Aggée* (Paris, 1895); and F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, Vol. 2 (2 ed. HAT: Tübingen, 1954), p. 206, for texts of the versions and discussion of the Hebrew.

asures, there were but ten; when one came to the winevat to draw fifty measures, there were but twenty (Hag. 2:16)."¹² "But one," it does not say here; rather (it says): "There were but twenty."¹³

Why is the wine more blighted than the grain? Because it is a type of curse. Rabbi says: Not for this reason but rather because they tread it in uncleanness.¹⁴

In addition Scripture says: "You have sown much and harvested little (Hag. 1:6)," since the omer was no more. "You eat, but you never have enough (Hag. 1:6)," since the bread of the presence was no more. "You drink, but you never have your fill (Hag. 1:6)," since the libations were no more. "You clothe yourselves, but no one is warm (Hag. 1:6)," since the priestly vestments were no more. "And he who earns wages earns wages to put them into a bag with holes (Hag. 1:6)," since the shekel tax was no more.¹⁵

And Scripture says further: "The fig will not blossom (Hab. 3:17)," since the institution of the first fruits was no more. "And there is no fruit on the vines (Hab. 3:17)," since libations were no more. "The produce of the olive has failed (Hab. 3:17)," since the oil for the lamps and the oil for anointing were no more. "And the fields yielded no fruit (Hab. 3:17)," since the swinging of the offerings was no more. "And the flock has been cut off from the fold (Hab. 3:17)," since the
p. 19 daily burnt offerings and additional sacrifices were no more. "And

¹² Hag. 2:15: "Before a stone was placed upon a stone in the Temple of the Lord. ..." (which is quoted in A) gives the context of this verse. Without the Temple agricultural productivity drops. The following clarifications of Hag. 2:16 are not immediately relevant to the main theme of the section. See G Ch. 4, n. 16. Ms. N omits them.

¹³ This sentence does not make sense in context. Ms. P has: "It does not say: 'And there were twenty-one.' Rather, (it says): 'There were but twenty.'" ARNA (p. 20; G pp. 33-34) and JerSot 9:15 have a clearer version where the contrast is between 25 (1/2 of 50) and 20, not 1 and 20, or 21 and 20 (see Schechter, B, p. 18, n. 7 and A, p. 20, n. 21).

¹⁴ Two explanations are offered for why the wine is diminished by more than a half: a special type of curse that affects the wine more than the wheat and failure to observe the rules of cleanness when treading it. Uncleanness while treading the grapes probably refers to the personal state of uncleanness of the people involved. Uncleanness which can come upon the treading vat is detailed in Toh 10:5 & 8 (see also Kel 15:5; Ohol 18:1; Toh 8:6).

¹⁵ This paragraph is a midrash on Hag. 1:6 in which each curse mentioned in the verse is attributed to the cessation of some aspect of the Temple Service. TanBub, Lev., p. 75 also has a midrash on Hag. 1:6 (followed by one on Zech 8:10) rather close to the one here. TanBub, Ez., p. 103 has a parallel with several differences from the version here, but it is followed by a midrash on Hab. 3:17, as is the midrash here

there is no herd in the stalls (Hab. 3:17),” since the sacrifices of peace offering were no more.¹⁶

In the future when the Temple is rebuilt, what does Scripture say : “The city shall be rebuilt upon its mound, and the palace shall stand where it used to be. Out of them shall come songs of thanksgiving and the voices of those who make merry (Jer. 30:18-19).” “Yet, I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation. God, the Lord, is my strength (Hab. 3:18-19).”¹⁷

¹⁶ This paragraph is a midrash on Hab. 3:17, similar to the previous one on Hag. 1:6. In it libations, already mentioned in the previous paragraph are repeated (as it is in TanBub, *Ex.*, p. 103); probably both lists were independent at one time. Hab. 3:17 is interpreted elsewhere in relation to Gen 21:1 and Sarah’s barrenness. See BerRab 53:3 (T-A, p. 556); TanBub, *Gen.*, pp. 104-05; and a different version in PesRab 42:5 (Friedmann, 177b, Braude, pp. 746-47).

¹⁷ As a conclusion the author turns to the future and ends on a note of comfort. The passage lacks clear eschatological features when speaking of the new Temple, so the author probably envisions a rebuilding of the Temple in the foreseeable future.

Note that Hab. 3:18-19 is used in B (Hab. 3:17 was used above) and Hag. 2:18-19 is used in A (with Hag. 2:15-16 used previously).

CHAPTER SIX

Now, when Vespasian came and besieged Jerusalem,¹ he took up a position against the wall of Jerusalem and said to the citizens of Jerusalem : Send² from Jerusalem one bow and arrow and I will leave you in peace.³ He said this to them once and then a second time, but

¹ In the previous chapter the Temple Service was interpreted and conditions before and after its destruction discussed. This leads to a fuller discussion of the Temple's destruction in this and the next chapter.

ARNA (Ch. 4) interprets all three phrases of Simeon the Righteous' saying in order, dealing with the loss of the temple under the heading of the third phrase and following that with the stories of the destruction.

Titus, not Vespasian, besieged Jerusalem. Vespasian had already begun his trip to Rome to become emperor before Titus invested Jerusalem (Josephus, *War*, end of Bk. 4—beginning Bk. 5).

Johanan seems to have left when the zealots were still allowing people to bury the dead, that is, before the siege. Josephus records that in Spring 68 A.D. Vespasian postponed marching on Jerusalem because the Zealot parties were fighting with one another (*War*, IV, 366ff.). Deserters were killed and the dead went unburied; people were killed for burying a relative (*War*, IV: 380-83). (The probable reason is that mourners had to leave the city walls to bury the dead, since burial was not allowed within; consequently, they could escape.) Thus Johanan may have left at this time or just before it.

Gittin 56a and LamRab 1:5 (31) record that Johanan left after the wheat stores were burned, that is, just before the siege began in April 70 (Josephus, *War*, V, 24-25). By that time, however, leaving would have been more difficult and Vespasian was no longer in Palestine.

Version A sets the scene with : "Now, when Vespasian came to destroy Jerusalem..." (p. 22; G 35); this is a more general statement of his hostile intentions and could mean that Vespasian had not yet actually besieged Jerusalem (the situation in Spring 68).

In all of this we must remember that the Rabbis did not carefully record dates or distinguish various campaigns and strategies; they concentrated on the central fact that Vespasian/Titus destroyed the Temple and the city. For an extended discussion of all the sources (ARNA ch. 4; ARNB ch. 6; Gittin 56; Lam. Rab. 1:5(31) and MidProv 15 [Buber, pp. 79-80]; the last is identical to ARNB), see Alon, *Mehqarim*, I, 219-251: a summary and critique in J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai Ca. 1-80 C.E.* (2 ed.; Leiden : Brill, 1970) pp. 152-166; and J. Neusner *Development of a Legend : Studies on the Traditions Concerning Yohanan ben Zakkai* (Leiden : Brill, 1970) which studies each text and the texts in parallel.

² Mss. R, P, and H read *šbrw* (break?). ARNA (p. 22) reads *šgrw* (send) and this sense seems required by the context. (Cf. Schechter, B p. 19, n. 2.) Ms. N reads *šykrw*, but the editor suggests *šygrw*.

³ The sending out of a bow and arrows seems to have been a sign of submission and of laying down arms. (See Goldin, Ch. 4, n. 23)

they did not accept.⁴ Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai said to the men of Jerusalem : You will be the cause of this city being destroyed and this Temple being burned. They said to him : As we sallied forth against the previous commanders and slaughtered them, so will we sally forth against this one and kill him.⁵ Everything that Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai said to the men of Jerusalem, they (Roman agents)⁶ wrote into documents ; these they attached to arrows and shot outside the wall,⁷ reporting : Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai is a friend of the emperor. When Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai saw that the people were not willing to listen to him, he said to his disciples : Comrades, get me out of here at once.⁸ They put him in a wooden coffin. Rabbi Eliezer took

⁴ Josephus records the patience of Titus in dealing with Jerusalem and his desire that it surrender ; Titus shows constant compassion on the people and reverence for the city (Josephus, *War*, V, 114 ; 261 ; 319-20 ; 325 ; 333-34 ; 348ff. ; 362-419 ; 455-56 ; 519ff. ; 541 ; VI, 94-112 ; 124-28 ; 214-19). Titus also desired that the Temple not be burned and made efforts to save it (Josephus, *War*, V, 362 ; VI, 238-43 ; 256-59 ; 262-66). The zealots, however, were intransigent and fought wildly against the Romans.

⁵ ARNA p. 22 (G p. 35) twice refers to two previous commanders who were defeated by the Jews. They were Florus, the last procurator of Palestine, and Cestus Gallus, the governor of Syria (Schürer, pp. 245-253 ; G Ch. 4, n. 24). Both were defeated by the revolutionaries at the beginning of the war. In response to these defeats, Nero sent Vespasian to Palestine.

On the prowess of the zealots during the siege of Jerusalem see Josephus, *War*, V, 54 ff., 75 ff., 109 ff., 280 ff., 469 ff. For their continuing optimism, note their elation after a temporary victory at the second wall of Jerusalem (Jos. *War*, V, 342-43).

⁶ Ms. N identifies these people as *hsydym kšyrym*, thus showing approval of them.

⁷ Aeneas Tacticus (*De obsidione toleranda commentarius*. 31:25-27) relates shooting messages over walls on arrows as a technique. He also relates how a misdirected arrow which hit a guard led to a message and plot being discovered.

⁸ “*imedú wehósi’áni.*” The force of “*imedú*” (rise) is to do something at once.

When Johanan left Jerusalem is a problem. Titus, not Vespasian, actually besieged Jerusalem in the winter of C.E. 69-70 and the spring of 70. Vespasian went to Rome to become emperor in spring 68. Therefore Johanan either left Jerusalem and travelled to Vespasian’s lines before he besieged Jerusalem, or surrendered to Titus during the siege. Neusner points out the difficulties facing anyone wishing to surrender in 70 (*Life*, pp. 165-66). The exact history of the escape is obscure and cannot be related accurately to events recounted in Josephus. We shall, however, note similarities.

Johanan’s defection from Jerusalem is told with no hint of rebuke or apology. The Rabbis who recorded this story seem to have implicitly agreed with Johanan’s action. We find in Josephus that there was a strong peace party in Jerusalem which opposed the revolt against Rome. It was led by Eleazar ben Hananiah, the Captain of the Temple, Hanan ben Hanan (Ananus), the former High Priest, and Simon ben Gamaliel and Josephus, the Pharisaic leaders. When, at the beginning of the revolt, the moderates could no longer control the zealots, “the dejection of the moderates was profound ;

the head and Rabbi Joshua the foot. They kept making their way⁹ until they reached the city's gateway. When they reached the city's gateway, they said (to the guards): Open up for us at once so that we can go out and bury him. (The gate keepers) said to them: We will not open (the gate) without first stabbing the body with a sword. The disciples replied: You will be responsible for the spreading of an evil report about your city; tomorrow people will say¹⁰: They even stabbed Rabban Johanan. Finally the guards got up and opened the gates for them.¹¹ As soon as Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai got outside the gate of Jerusalem, he went and greeted Vespasian the way a sovereign is greeted. He said to him: Long live (my) lord, the emperor.¹²

and many foreseeing the impending disasters, made open lamentation." (*War*, II, 651; Finkelstein, *Akiba*, pp. 52-53). The Zealots killed those who proposed peace and constantly guarded against people deserting the city. People, however, kept escaping from the city (Josephus, *War*, IV, 377 ff.; 490; V, 27ff.; 265; 345; 420-25; 452 ff.; 548 ff.; VI, 113 ff.)

Many rabbis probably supported the war, as they did in the Bar Kosiba Rebellion (see Alon, *Toledot*, II, pp. 41-42 and for a slightly different opinion, Schurer, p. 300) but they were generally not among the fanatics. When the situation was hopeless, they sought to alleviate the suffering of the people. Since Johanan had done all that he could to rectify the situation before leaving Jerusalem, later Rabbis did not blush to connect this incident with the founding of the first post-destruction academy. Gittin 56a and LamRab 1:5 (31) record that Johanan left only after the stores of wheat were burned and so they imply that he was more committed to the war than ARN indicates. But in neither case was he a fanatic. (For the love of peace in Rabbinic literature, see Moore, II, pp. 195-97 and the references there.)

⁹ "*m^ešamm^ešⁱn we-hšl^ektⁱn*," literally, "serving and going." The phrase seems to mean that they just kept proceeding in their plan until they met their main obstacle, the gate keepers. Ms. G-1 adds that Akiba preceded them *mšpyr* (crying out?).

¹⁰ Schechter misreads Ms. R which has '*um*'. Mss. G-1 & H complete the abbreviation with '*umryn*'.

¹¹ Alon (*Mehqarim*, I, p. 249, n. 77) notes that the zealots are here presumed to be humane and concerned with public opinion. Josephus presents a completely different picture.

¹² The Mss. are garbled here because the greeting is transliterated Latin: *Vive domine, imperator*. Ms. R skips this phrase; Ms. P has '*yn dydumny*'; Ms. N has '*ywyby rumny mlk*'; Ms. G-1 an equally confused '*hr(d?)y dumny*'. Ms. He we will see below. The phrase is more clearly preserved in LamRab 1:5 (31) and in the Aruch under the word *dumyny*. See Schechter, p. 19, n. 12; Alon, *Mehqarim*, p. 242; Lieberman, "*Qls Qylwsyn*, in *Alei Ayin*. Schocken Festschrift (Jerusalem, 1948-52), p. 76.

Ms. H, which Schechter follows, seems to transliterate more easily into the Latin: *Eris, Domine, Imperator* (You will be, Lord, Emperor). Josephus (*War*, III, 401) meets Vespasian and makes a similar prediction: *su kaisar, Thespasiane, kai autokratōr* (You

Vespasian asked him : So *you* are ben Zakkai?¹³ He answered : Yes. Vespasian said : You have cornered me.¹⁴ Johanan answered : Do not be afraid. Our Scripture says that this Temple will be destroyed only by a king, as Scripture says : "And Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one (Is. 10:34)."¹⁵ Johanan was put in the custody of two jailers.¹⁶ In three days letters came to Vespasian from Rome, saying : Nero the emperor is dead and the Romans have made you emperor.¹⁷ He summoned Rabban Johanan and said : Ask a favor of me. Johanan replied : I ask of you Jamnia where I may study Torah and carry out the law of fringes¹⁸

[will be] Caesar, Vespasian, and Emperor). For other predictions concerning Vespasian's accession, see Schürer, pp. 384-85, n. 41.

Because ARNB says that Johanan *greeted* Vespasian, not that he made a prediction and because of the parallels, *Vive Domine Imperator* was probably original, but none of the Mss. are really clear.

¹³ In ARNA (P. 23; G p. 36) and here in B Vespasian already knows of Johanan ben Zakkai, contrary to the other tradition in Git 56a and LamRab 1:5 (31) where he does not know Johanan. Only ARNA and B tell us that information was sent out of the city by Vespasian's agents (Alon, *Mehqarim*, I, pp. 250-51). Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 38) credits this tradition as reliable because it was unlikely to have been created later than the time of its occurrence.

ARNA alone puts the gift of Jabne before the prophecy of Vespasian's accession to the throne. ARNB, Gittin and LamRab make the gift dependent on the fulfillment of the prophecy (Alon, *Mehqarim*, I, pp. 251-52). Both here and in LamRab Johanan is held in custody for a time, as was Josephus (Alon, *Mehqarim*, I, p. 250, n. 250, n. 78).

¹⁴ For the meaning of this difficult idiom, see Lieberman, *Tosephet Rishonim*, IV, p. 73. How is Vespasian cornered? On the one hand, Johanan is the head of the peace party and on the other, by calling a general Emperor he is worthy of death. See Gittin 56a, bottom, for similar reasoning.

¹⁵ For all the references to rabbinic passages which connect Lebanon with the Temple and Temple Mount, see Sifre Dt. 6, Finkelstein p. 14, note on l. 9. See G. Vermes, "The Symbolic Interpretation of LEBANON in the Targums : The Origin and Development of an Exegetical Tradition," *Jour. of Theol. Stud.* 9 (1958), 1ff. (also in G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition* [Leiden, 1961], pp. 26-39) and H. D. F. Sparks, "The Symbolic Interpretation of Lebanon in the Fathers," *Jour. of Theol. Stud.* 10 (1959), 264-79.

¹⁶ I follow *pylgrws* of Ms. G-1. This seems to the Greek *phulakes*. Ms. R has *pydydm* ("officers")

¹⁷ For the story of Vespasian's accession as Emperor, see Josephus, *War*, IV, 592 ff. and VII, 63 ff. The Mss. differ here. I follow N with Schechter.

¹⁸ "The law of fringes" occurs in all the Mss. except N. Yet it bothers some commentators. Often phylacteries and fringes occur together as commandments to be kept by each Jew as he prays. Phylacteries (*tepillin*) and prayer (*tepillah*) are close enough to be mixed. Thus, prayer or house of prayer may have originally been meant. See *Binyan Joshua* on ARNA 23, l. 13 and Goldin, Ch. 4, n. 29. For other reading suggestions, see ARNB p. 19, n. 16; ARNA p. 23, n. 62; and Ginzberg's suggestion in Goldin. All in all, the law of fringes does fit in ARNB and it is supported by the Mss.

and keep all the other commandments.¹⁹ He said to him : Here it is ; it's yours, a gift.

¹⁹ These three things which Johanan will do in Jabne match the three pillars of Simeon the Righteous, but they are cast in a new form to adapt to post-destruction times (Goldin, "Three Pillars," pp. 51-52).

CHAPTER SEVEN

p. 20 When Vespasian came and besieged Jerusalem, he took up a position against the east side of Jerusalem. All the Sicarii¹ thereupon burned all the provisions that were in Jerusalem; they intended to leave no means of sustenance.² The people of Jerusalem used to boil straw and drink its broth and then go out and fight with the Romans and slaughter them. When Vespasian saw that there was no sign of grain in the excrement of the people of Jerusalem, he summoned his forces and said to them: Come and see men who are starving and thirsty and who go out and fight with you and slaughter you. What if they had sufficient food and drink!³

¹ The Sicarii, generally speaking, are the proponents of the war with Rome. They are also called zealots and in Josephus they are treated pejoratively as brigands. These terms sometimes have special meanings and at other time overlap. Also involved is the fourth philosophy of Josephus' *Antiquities* (XVIII, 23-25) and various leaders of resistance such as Judas the Galilean (*Ant.*, XVIII, 1).

ARNB here uses the term Sicarii. ARNA (p. 32) calls them zealots (*qn'ym*). Probably these terms originally had factional connotations, but these nuances were merged together by the time ARN was written. See the Index to the Loeb *Josephus* under "Sicarii," "Zealots", and "brigands"; note that the terms are not consistently used with reference to separate parties and groups. For a complete study of the whole question, see Martin Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden, 1961), esp. pp. 48-52; C. Roth, "The Zealots of the War of 66-73," *JSS* 4 (1959), 332-55, esp. 334-35; also, H. Feldman's notes in the Loeb Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 23-25.

² The burning of the food supplies, along with the decimation of the population, weakened Jerusalem and led to its quick downfall. The burning of the food stores is recounted in Josephus, *War*, V, 24-25 along with the resultant famine (V, 27ff, 424ff, 512ff; VI, 193-219). Rabbinic literature testifies to the destruction of the supplies: ARNA pp. 32-33 (G pp. 45-46); ARNB p. 31; LamRab 1:5 (31); Git 56a; QohRab 7:12. The zealots did not regret this loss, as we see in LamRab and QohRab where Johanan ben Zakkai endangers his life because he shows disapproval of the burning of the food. Y. Baer has challenged the accuracy of reports unfavorable to the zealots in Josephus and the haggada in "Y^erúšlayim bímē hammered haggadól" [Jerusalem in the Times of the Great Revolt] *Zion* 37(1971) 127-190.

³ LamRab 1:5 (31) recounts that Johanan left Jerusalem when he saw the people seething straw and drinking its water as food. ARNA p. 33 (G p. 46) mentions the eating of straw.

In Josephus Titus praises the fortitude of the fighters in Jerusalem (e.g., *War*, V, 121ff; VI, 13-44).

They brought him planks⁴ of wood and he made them into something like...⁵ and a kind of...⁶ He made them (the planks?) into two catapults⁷ and they kept firing (projectiles) against the wall until it was breached. (He made) a catapult⁸ and put a pig's head in it.⁹ They kept breaking

⁴ Mss. P, G-1, N, and H read *nsrym* (planks), not *nšrym* (wicker baskets) as in Ms. R. The mention of wicker work in the following lines may have caused the mix-up. ARNA speaks of planks (*nsrym*) of cedarwood which were hurled at the walls (pp. 23-24; G p. 37).

Josephus records the vigorous Roman efforts to get timber for earthworks and siege machines (*War*, V, 262-65 and 522-23).

⁵ The following few lines on catapults and breaching the wall are confused. The Hebrew words used are not clear and the stages in the process of breaching the walls are obscure. The copyist seems to have been working with words but not with sense when he reproduced this passage.

"*mewbk*" (Mss. R and H) should be something intertwined, woven or twisted, but no noun exists in this form. See *Aruch*, VIII, p. 8 and Ben Yehudah, VIII, 3918-22. Note the use of *k-*, "something like" here. The author is aware that a precise description is not communicated by this word. Ms. P has *mewkk*, which means the same thing. Ms. G-1 reads *mšbyk*. Ms. N has *mšbk*.

Greek and Roman catapults (strictly, the *ballista* which hurled stones and the catapult which hurled a wood projectile) got their power from twisted, interwoven animal sinews or human hair. See the diagrams in Harry T. Peck (ed.), *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York: 1965), "Tormentum"; and William Smith (ed.): *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: 1890, 3rd rev. ed.), II, pp. 853-57. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 101-22) presents a verbal description of the catapult. It uses the bow idea but replaces the tensile strength of wood with that of twisted hair which, when released, propels a missile. The planks would be used for the frame of the machine and as projectiles. See also Josephus (*War*, V, 266-77) for the machines used against Jerusalem.

⁶ "*kmyn ql'ym*" in Ms. R is also unclear. It is something twisted or braided. The remarks in the previous note seem to fit here also. "*kmyn*," "a kind of" is used to show that the description is not precise. Ordinarily a *ql'* is a hand sling for throwing stones (Ben Yehuda, XII, pp. 5965-67) *Aruch*, VII, p. 108). Ms. P read *klwns* and G-1 has *klwnws*, which means "beam, pillar", a meaning that generally fits this section (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, pp. 288-89). Ms. H has *klyns*, which means "bridle" (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 290).

⁷ "*pgwš*" means a slingstone, that is, a stone hurled in a hand sling. See Schechter, n. 6; *Aruch*, p. 295; Ben Yehuda, X, p. 4811. Coming after the mention of a catapult, this word might mean stones to be fired from catapults. But since only two of these items are made, they can hardly be projectiles; more than two would be needed.

Perhaps the term is taken here to mean a catapult for hurling stones (a *ballista*).

⁸ The verb "he made," added by Schechter, is found in Mss. P and G-1. *qšt šl zyr*: see Ben Yehuda, III, p. 1327 for an interpretation of this expression. *zyr* is a well-twisted string. See note 5 for an explanation of the catapult as a development of the bow and of twisted fibers.

A catapult proper fires wooden projectiles on a horizontal plane, rather than stones.

through like a tailor making stitches¹⁰ and they kept moving down (the length of the wall) until (the head) landed on the sacrifices¹¹ which are on the altar; it made (the altar) unclean.¹²

They destroyed all of Jerusalem, until they reached the Temple. When they reached the Temple,¹³ they said to one another : Who will be first to enter the Temple. There was present there a wicked man, Titus,¹⁴

In A p. 23 (G p. 37) the catapult is said to fire cedarwood planks at the wall until it is breached. But it also fires the pig's head at the wall. We cannot expect these terms to be used consistently and with precision.

⁹ The purpose of the pig's head is not exactly clear here; the version in A (pp. 23-24; G p. 37) says the pig's head was hurled toward the sacrificial limbs on the altar. In B the pig's head is separated from the final remarks of this paragraph by a mention of the projectiles fired against the wall to make breaches.

BabKam 82b tells a story set in a war of the Hasmoneans in which a pig is sent up in the daily basket to the besiegers, instead of the sacrificial victims. The pig clings to the middle of the wall and the earth quakes. This implies that defiling the Temple will hasten its downfall.

¹⁰ Ms. R: *kmklyb*; Ms. N: *k(b ?)mrby*; Ms. H: *bmky*; Ms. G-1: *k(b ?)mkny*. All readings cause difficulty. *klb* means "to stitch." The breaches must have formed a regular pattern on the wall, much like the pattern on cloth. But Schechter, note 10, and Aruch on *klb* (dog) refers us to the hurling of the pig's head up on the altar. The pig's head might have shattered and come down on the sacrifices on the altar.

¹¹ Ms. R reads *hbybrym* (Latin: *vivarium*, an enclosure where animals are kept). Schechter and the other Mss. read *h'ybrym* (sacrificial limbs) along with A p. 24.

¹² *tm'tw* is a third feminine, singular verb with a third masculine, singular suffix. This suffix probably refers to the altar which was rendered unclean, presumably by a pig's head. But the subject of the verb is feminine and "head" is masculine.

¹³ Ms. G-1 adds here: "When they reached the Temple they began crying out: 'For the man is not at home; he has gone on a long journey (Prov. 7:19).' They said to one another: Although he went, he shall return, as Scripture says: 'He took a bag of money with him; at full moon he will come home (Prov. 7:20).' They said to one another: Who can enter into the presence of the lion in his lair? Is (not) this the one who killed Pharaoh and his soldiers? Is (not) this the one who killed Sisera and Sennacherib and their forces? Is (not) this the one from whom go forth sparks and lightning to burn the bodies and leave their garments? Now who will enter first?" Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 204) says that this passage was dropped in most Mss. because the copyist did not dare to copy it. But a similar challenge to God occurs later in this chapter (pp. 20-21) when Titus is caught in a storm at sea. Granted that the attack on God here occurs at the Temple itself, it hardly seems much worse than that later in the chapter, so the copyist's fear may not be the reason for the omission of the passage. See A p. 4 (G p. 9) for a similar incident with Titus in the Temple.

¹⁴ For parallels to the following stories about Titus, see Git 56b; BerRab 10:7 (printed editions); LevRab 22:3 (Margulies, pp. 499-502); NumRab 18:22; QohRab 5:8; Tan, *Huqqat*, 1; TanBub, *Num.*, p. 99. See also a briefer version in SifreDt 328 (Finkelstein, pp. 378-79); BerRab (T-A, pp. 82-83); LevRab 20:5 (Margulies, p. 458); DtRab, (ed.)

son of Vespasian's wife,¹⁵ who defiantly entered, confirming the text: "A wicked man puts on a bold face (Prov. 21:29)."¹⁶ What is more, he drew his sword and slashed the curtain, confirming what Scripture says: "He runs stubbornly against God with a thick-bossed shield (Job 15:26)."¹⁷ What is more, he dragged a prostitute into the Holy of Holies¹⁸ and he began to blaspheme, curse, vilify and spit toward Him on high, saying: So this is the one who you say slaughtered Sisera and Sennacherib. Here I am in his house and in his domain. If he has any power, let him come out and face me.¹⁹ This was to fulfill

Lieberman, p. 21; ARNA p. 4 (G p. 9); Tan, *Ahare*, 4; TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 61; PRE 49. Finally, *Legends*, VI, p. 394.

Titus is often called the evil one (*rš'*) because he entered the Holy of Holies and profaned the Temple. This entry is the central fact associated with him.

These stories about Titus are given a formal introduction: "There was present there a wicked man, Titus. ..." Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 112) speculates that they were used to instruct young students who no longer recognized the name of Titus and had to be introduced to him.

Josephus presents Titus as a reasonable and compassionate leader who sought to save the Temple both before and after he had entered it (*War*, VI, 250-66).

¹⁵ Lieberman (*Greek*, pp. 164-65) shows that the suggestion that Titus was Vespasian's step-son (or "son of Vespasian's sister" in Ms. H) is not to be taken as an historical fact. It was rather an expression of contempt, suggesting that Titus' mother was not above adultery.

¹⁶ Elsewhere is Rabbinic literature Prov. 21:29 is used to characterize the insolent man who does not show proper respect to one greater than himself (Ta'an 7; NumRab 18:12; Tan, *Korah*, 8; TanBub, *Num.*, p. 46; PRK, p. 423).

¹⁷ *gdr* (cut) occurs in Mss. R and N; *gydd* in Ms. G-1 and *gyrr* in Mss. H and P; Dalet and Resh are easily mixed up. But see Lieberman, *DtRab*, p. 21, n. 10 for the original verb *grr* and its many mutations as the story of Titus' slashing the Temple curtain(s) is retold in the sources listed in note 14 above.

Job 15:25 (the verse previous to the verse in our text) reads: "Because he has stretched forth his hand against God, and bids defiance to the Almighty. ..." This previous verse is the one relating to Titus' actions. (See Schechter, n. 16).

Before this verse, Ms. G-1 adds: "Blood began to spurt forth from them (the curtains) and the evil one (Titus) realized that he had killed only himself.

¹⁸ Ms. G-1 reads: "He dragged a prostitute into the Holy of Holies, spread out a scroll of the Torah and committed immorality upon it ('*br 'byrh 'lyw*)." Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 203) speculates that the copyist did not dare to copy this passage. *Git* 56b; *LevRab* 22:3 (Margulies, p. 500); *BerRab* 10:7 (printed eds.); *NumRab* 18:22; *QohRab* 5:8; Tan, *Huqqat*, 1; TanBub, *Num.*, p. 99 say that Titus had two prostitutes with him and spread the scroll of the Torah (in some sources: on top of the altar).

¹⁹ Titus' blasphemy occurs in the sources mentioned in the previous note and in ARNA p. 4 (G p. 9). The challenge mentioning God's previous acts and Titus' presence in His domain occurs in *LevRab* 22:3, *BerRab* 10:7, and *QohRab* 5:8 in this place. A similar challenge then occurs later in these and other sources when a gale arises on the

what Scripture says: "Then he will say, 'Where are their gods, the rock in which they took refuge, who ate the fat of their sacrifices... (Dt. 32:37-38).'"²⁰ Abba Hanan says: "O Lord God of hosts, who is mighty as you are, O Lord (Ps. 89:9)?" You are mighty because you hear the blasphemy, curses and vilification of this wicked man and you keep silent.²¹ In the future when his measure will be full, you will bring punishment upon him, to fulfill what Scripture says: "In the fullness of his sufficiency he will be in straits... (Job 20:22)."²²

He made a kind of receptacle and in it he packed (the various parts of) the candlesticks;²³ he collected the vessels from the Temple; he filled three ships with men, women and children so he could go overseas and hold a triumph,²⁴ as Scripture says: "Then I saw the wicked buried; they used to go in and out of the holy place, and were forgotten in the city where they had done such things (Qoh. 8:10)."²⁵ When he

sea (see below). The challenge presented to God is similar; probably what struck the rabbis was Titus' insolence and blasphemy and this is highlighted in different contexts.

²⁰ This verse begins the account of Titus' actions in Git 56b and constitutes the essence of his challenge to God.

In context, Dt. 32:37 is the Lord taking compassion on his people and chiding them before showing mercy. But in ExRab 15:16 this verse is put in the mouth of the nations challenging God.

²¹ Abba Hanan or Hanin, who flourished in post-Hadrianic times, often passed on the sayings of Eliezer ben Hyrkanos and was of the circle of Rabbi Ishmael (Strack, pp. 114-15; Bacher, I, p. 125 and n. 2). He seems to be replying to Titus' challenge to God by praising God's self-restraint. This passage also occurs in Git 56b.

²² This verse occurs elsewhere with the same general meaning, that God waits until a man's measure is full before he punishes him (Sot 9a; Arak 15a; NumRab 14:6). This verse does not occur after Abba Hanan's statement in Git 56b.

²³ *gānp'*: from the root *gdp*, which means something hollowed out or rimmed. Here: a receptacle. See Aruch, II, pp. 246-47. LevRab reads *grgwtny* (Margulies, p. 500), a "basket" or "net". See Aruch, II, p. 354; Jastrow, p. 264. See also BerRab 10:7 (printed eds.) and QohRab 5:8. In Git 56b Titus shapes the Temple curtain into a receptacle.

prq means to take apart. Thus, to take apart the candlesticks in a kind of receptacle really means to pack the parts of the candlesticks for shipment.

²⁴ Literally *hšbbh* (to be praised) *bmdynt hym* (in the province of the sea). Titus' triumph in Rome seems meant. The booty which Titus brought to Rome can be seen in the pictures sculpted into the inside of the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum. The seven branched candlestick and the two trumpets are prominent; so is some kind of ark. For a picture see Ernst Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Praeger, NY: 1968, 2nd ed.), p. 135. A bibliography is given there and in Scührer, pp. 390-91, n. 127. The story of Titus' triumph is told in Josephus *War*, VI, 414-19; VII, 116-157, esp. 148-52.

²⁵ Git 56b explains how Qoh. 8:10 refers to Titus' departure to his triumph. "Read not *q'ebūrim* [buried] but *q'ebūšim* [collected]; read not *w'eyištakk'hū* [and] were forgotten]

boarded the ship, a gale arose to drown him in the sea. He stood on (the deck of) the ship and began to blaspheme, curse, vilify and spit toward Him on high. He said : When I was in his house and in his domain, he did not have the power to come and face me, but now here he has come forth to meet me. It seems that the God of the Jews has
 p. 21 power only where there is water. The generation of the flood He punished with water and he is trying to do to me what he did to Pharaoh. God gave a sign to the sea and it ceased storming to fulfill what Scripture says : "And the sea ceased from its raging (Jon. 1:15)."²⁶ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him : Wicked one, stinking drop, dust, worm and maggot. *I* battle you ? Why there is no more insignificant creature among all that I have created in my world than the mosquito ; he will engage you in battle. Titus disembarked from the ship in Rome and the citizens of Rome came out to acclaim him. They exclaimed : Conquerer of the Barbarians !²⁷ When he entered the city, he went into the baths ; when he came out, he was handed a large cup of wine.²⁸ While he was drinking, a mosquito entered his nose and kept eating away inside him until it reached the inside of his brain. The doctors were informed ; they split open his brain and found a mosquito the size of a baby pigeon,²⁹ weighing two liters.³⁰

but *weyiṣṭabbēhū* [and triumphed]. That is, Titus collected booty and had a triumph.

This verse has been troublesome to translators ; the versions and emendations understand "and were forgotten" as "and were praised, that is, and triumphed." Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, ICC, 1908, pp. 155 ; H. L. Ginzberg, *Qoheleth* [in Heb.] (Tel-Aviv/Jerusalem), p. 109, takes the text as it is.

²⁶ Mss. H and P have this verse.

²⁷ Ms. R : *nqyt' bdwr*. Ms. P : *bdwry* (resh and dalet were confused in writing ; beth and waw were confused by pronunciation). Better in LevRab, Margulies, p. 501 : *nyqyt' brbryh*. This is a transliteration of the Greek : *nikētēs barbarōn*. See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 366 and 163.

For Titus' challenge to God during the gale and the story of the mosquito, see Git 56b ; BerRab 10:7 ; LevRab 22:3 (Margulies, pp. 500-02) ; NumRab 18:22 ; QohRab 5:8 ; Tan, *Huqqat*, 1 ; TanBub, *Num.*, p. 99. The story of the mosquito entering the head through the nose is also told of the death of Nimrod in Arabic lore. See G. Weil, *Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans* (New York : 1846), pp. 78-79.

²⁸ Ms. R : *dyply pytyryn*. LevRab, Margulies, p. 501, reads : *dyplwpwtwryn*. The Greek is : *diplopotērion*. See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 210.

²⁹ Mss. R and N : *br ywnh* ; Ms. P : *bn ywnh* ; Ms. H : *bn ywnw*. LevRab has *gwz bn ywnh* (Margulies, p. 502). *ywnh* is Biblical Hebrew for a dove. *br ywnh*, the Aramaic for "son of," also means a dove, but *bn ywnh*, the Hebrew for "son of," means a pigeon (Jastrow, p. 570). *gwz* means a young chick, especially of a pigeon (Jastrow, p. 717). This word is used alone in many of the versions. All of the versions tend in one direction, that of the young of a small bird (dove or pigeon).

Rabbi Eleazar son of Rabbi Jose³¹ said : I was in Rome and I saw two liters on one side (of a scale) and the mosquito on the other.³² They put it into a bowl. So long as the mosquito remained (there), there was still a little breath (left) in him ; when the mosquito flew off, his soul left him also.³³ To fulfill what Scripture says : "Evil shall slay the wicked (Ps. 34:22)."

Rabban Johanan was sitting opposite the wall of Jerusalem watching to learn what would happen to it ; Scripture speaks of Eli in the same way : "Eli was sitting upon his seat by the road, watching... (1 Sam. 4:13)."³⁴ When Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai saw the Temple destroyed and the Sanctuary burned, he rose and tore his clothes, removed

³⁰ Ms. R : *tryn* is Aramaic. N has *šny* which is Hebrew, masculine. Ms. P has *šty*, Hebrew feminine. *litra* is the Greek for a pound and is either masculine or feminine as used in Hebrew.

A Roman *libra* was approximately 3/4 of one of our pounds (OCD, p. 959). Thus the bird weighed one and a half pounds.

The traditional fate of a desecrator of a sanctuary was unnatural death, like that suffered by Titus here. See Baron, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 93 and p. 369, n. 6. For the case of Antiochus IV, cf. 2 Macc. 9:9 and Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 169.

³¹ Mss. P and H read : Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Jose. Ms. N has simply Rabbi Eleazar. Ms. R has an unclear reading, but it seems to me to be *r' l'zr*, not Eliezer, as Schechter read it. LevRab, Margulies, p. 502 and QohRab have Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Jose. Rabbi Jose is Jose ben Halafta and his son was of the fourth generation of Tannaim. Stories concerning Rome are attributed to him because he went to Rome with Simeon ben Johai and met Mattiah ben Heresh there. See Bacher, II, pp. 412-15 and LevRab, Margulies, p. 502, note to line 4.

³² The story is a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew. See LevRab and BerRab (printed eds.) for an Aramaic version of this incident ; QohRab has Hebrew. Both make it clear that they weighed the mosquito (and therefore are speaking of the two sides of a scale).

³³ "Remained (there)" is Hebrew *šhh* : "to delay. stay." The meaning of this word here is not clear. It is used in Mss. R and H. See Schechter, note 34. "As it altered, so did he alter [i.e., it shrunk and so did Titus]," according to the Soncino translation of QohRab 5:8. Ms. N and Aruch, VIII, p. 48 (quoting LevRab) have *šyh*. Margulies, p. 502, reads *šny*.

This ending to the story is difficult. Why the mosquito's presence in the bowl affected Titus' last breath is not clear. Generally speaking, the mosquito is God's avenging agent, but this detail of the story is unclear.

Ps. 34:22 continues : "and those who hate the righteous will be condemned." This is a fitting epitaph to the life and career of Titus, from a Jewish point of view.

³⁴ In a battle against the Philistines the ark was taken and Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas, were killed. A messenger runs back to Shilo and finds Eli sitting by the road, waiting to find out what has happened. Johanan, too, sits outside the city, seeking enlightenment about the city's future.

his phylacteries and sat down to mourn along with his disciples.³⁵

Some say that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were with them, as Scripture says: Wail, O cypress... (Zech. 11:2).” This clause refers to Abraham who from the first carried out the commandments.³⁶ “For the cedar has fallen.” This refers to Zedekiah, the King of Judah.³⁷ “For the glorious ones are a ruin.” This refers to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. “Wail, oaks of Bashan.”³⁸ This refers to the princes of Judah and Benjamin. “For the thick forest has been felled.” This refers to the people of Jerusalem.³⁹

Another interpretation. “Wail, O cypress.” This refers to Abraham who obeyed the Torah from the first. “For the cedar has fallen.” This refers to the (high) priest. “For the glorious ones are ruined.” This refers to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. “Wail, oaks of Bashan.” This refers to the prominent men of Judah and Benjamin. “For the

³⁵ When Joshua expressed dismay some time later, however, Johanan encouraged him by saying that acts of lovingkindness replace the Temple sacrifices (B p. 22; A p. 21 [G p. 34]).

³⁶ In this midrash on Zech. 11:2 we would expect the initial statement, that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were with them, to be authenticated. The first clause proves that Abraham mourned the loss of the Temple. But Isaac does not follow.

This midrash on Zech. 11:2 and the one that follows below, introduced by “Another interpretation,” were probably developed independently of this context and then integrated into ARN. ARNA (pp. 24-25; G p. 37) combines aspects of each midrash into one and aptly interprets “For the cedar has fallen,” as the Temple. ARNA also places the story of the priests throwing the keys of the Temple up to heaven (which follows here) before these midrashim and associates that incident with Zech. 11:1.

³⁷ Zedekiah was king of Judah when Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C. His sons were killed before him, his eyes put out and he was taken in chains to Babylon (2 Ki. 25:6-7). He fits into the exegesis of Zech. 11:2 as referring to the destruction of the Temple, but he does not fit into a proof of the initial statement.

³⁸ Now Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned together. This remark alone authenticates the initial statement of this paragraph and may be the reason Zech. 11:2 was chosen as proof text here. There is a redundancy in the mentioning of Abraham in the first clause and here, but this double mention of Abraham also occurs in the following paragraph. Consequently both mentions of Abraham are probably original.

³⁹ The people of Jerusalem suffered huge losses in the war. See Josephus, *War*, Bks. 4-7 *passim*. For Josephus’ statistics, see *War*, VI, 420-29. The next paragraph connects this clause with those carried off from Jerusalem, who were also numerous.

The expression “people of Jerusalem” is unusual. See Schechter, n. 38 and Ben Yehuda, IX, p. 4535b where no exactly parallel expression is offered. The concordances to the Mishnah and Tosefta have the expressions “men of Jerusalem,” “daughters of Jerusalem,” and “elders of Jerusalem.” The New Testament does not have this expression either. It has the inhabitants (*katoikountes*) of Jerusalem (Acts 1:19; 2:14; 4:16) and once daughters of Jerusalem (Luke 23:28).

thick forest has been felled." This refers to all those exiled from Jerusalem.⁴⁰

Rabbi Hananiah, prefect of the priests, says: Forty years before the Temple was destroyed and the sanctuary burned, the people of Jerusalem used to lock the doors (of the Temple) in the evening⁴¹ and when they rose early in the morning, they would find them open, as Scripture says: "Open your doors, O Lebanon... (Zech. 11:1)." ⁴²

p. 22 When the sons of the leading priests⁴³ saw that the Temple was being destroyed and the Sanctuary was being burned, they took the keys and went to the top of the Sanctuary and threw the keys toward heaven, saying: Look, here are the keys which you gave us, for we were not faithful custodians, (worthy) to eat from the stores of the king. They held on to another and were drawn into the fire and burned.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For the interpretation of this paragraph, see the notes on the previous paragraph. See also Schechter, n. 39

⁴¹ "In the evening" is found in Mss. P and H.

⁴² This verse continues: "That the fire may devour your cedars." Lebanon is the Temple (cf. Ch. 6, note 15) and its opening of its doors is taken as a sign of its impending destruction. See also PesRab 33:1 (Friedmann, 149b; Braude, p. 630) and especially Yoma 39b where Rabban Johanan rebukes the doors for opening and tells them to wait until it is time. Rabbi Hananiah, prefect of the priests, was a member of the first generation of Tannaim and so functioned in the Temple before it was destroyed.

Note that Zech. 11:2 was previously interpreted, and now Zech. 11:1. ARNA arranges the materials in reverse order

⁴³ Literally: sons of the high priests. Perhaps the high priests were a class of priests. See B Ch. 41, p. 115.

⁴⁴ This incident of throwing the keys up to heaven is prefaced by Zech. 11:1 in A p. 24 (G p. 37). Other rabbinic accounts of this incident are found in Taan 29a; JerShek 6:3; PesRab 26:6 (Friedmann, 131a; Braude, p. 535); LevRab 19:6 (Margulies, pp. 436-37); 2 TargEsther 1:3; 2 Baruch 10:18 (Charles, II, p. 486); Paraleipomena Jeremiu 4:4 (Kraft, pp. 20-21).

The story of the fall of the Temple is told in Josephus, *War*, VI, 271-87. A group of priests who held out were finally executed (VI, 318-22).

CHAPTER EIGHT

ON ACTS OF LOVING KINDNESS. What does Scripture say : "For I desire loving kindness and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings (Hos. 6:6)." This verse compares the light to the light and the grave to the grave—and the words of Torah which belong to the category of the grave were found superior to burnt offerings which (also) belong to the category of the grave; and acts of loving kindness which belong to the category of the light (were found) superior to sacrifices which (also) belong to the category of the light.¹ Similarly Scripture says : "Has the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord ? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams (1 Sam. 15:22)." Rabbi Simeon says : (God says :) More precious to Me is study of the words of Torah than burnt offerings and sacrifices.²

And where are we told that acts of loving kindness fill the earth ? Scripture says : "The loving kindness of the Lord fills the earth (Ps. 33:5)." Where are we told that it (extends) from the earth to the sky ? Scripture says : "For your loving kindness is great to the heavens (Ps. 57:11)." And where are we told that it reaches even higher than the sky ? Scripture says : "For your loving kindness is higher than the heavens (Ps. 108:5)." And where are we told that (it extends) from one end of the world to the other ? Scripture says : "But the loving kindness of the Lord is from (one end of) the world to (the other end of) the world upon those who fear him (Ps. 103:17)."³

¹ Hos. 6:6 forms the paradigm for Judaism after the destruction of the Temple. The major sacrifices of special importance were the whole burnt offerings; the study of Torah replaces them. The minor sacrifices of every day are replaced by acts of loving kindness.

A p. 18 (G p. 32) uses Hos. 6:6 and this theme under the heading of Torah as well as under that of loving kindness (p. 21 ; G p. 34). Here in B Torah and loving kindness are combined to replace the Temple service, the middle clause of Simeon the Righteous' saying, even though this chapter is discussing loving kindness. See also Sukkah 49b.

² 1 Sam. 15:22 stresses obedience, rather than sacrifices. Rabbi Simeon's following statement mentions the study of Torah. See A p. 18 (G p. 32) where study of Torah is the source of obedience.

Rabbi Simeon (ben Yohai) was a disciple of Akiba who lived in post-Hadrianic times.

³ This description of the attributes of loving kindness is not found elsewhere, to my knowledge. It supports the interpretation of loving kindness, but interrupts the con-

A story is told about Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai that he was walking along the road when Rabbi Joshua ran after him and said to him: Woe to us because the house of our life has been destroyed, the place which used to atone for our sins. He answered: Do not be afraid. We have another atonement instead of it. He asked: What is it? Johanan answered: "For I desire loving kindness and not sacrifice (Hos. 6:6)."⁴

When scholars sit studying and a funeral cortege or marriage procession passes by, if enough people are in the procession, the scholars are not to interrupt their studies; if there are not enough in the procession, they are to interrupt their studies.⁵

A story is told about the disciples of Rabbi Judah that they were once seated studying and a marriage procession passed by. Rabbi Judah said to them: Colleagues, come and busy yourselves with the bride, for we find that God, in the same way, busied himself with the bride at the very beginning, as Scripture says: "And the rib which the Lord had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man (Gen. 2:22)."⁶ Rabbi Simeon ben Menasia says: Scripture says: "And the rib which the Lord had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man." This teaches that God adorned and outfitted her and gave her to Adam. And there are places where they refer to plaiting⁷ as *bnyyt*.⁸

necting of loving kindness with the Temple sacrifices, found in the previous and following paragraphs. It occurs as a separate unit in MhM, III, p. 542.

The Psalm verse which closes this paragraph is usually translated "from everlasting to everlasting," but here *'olam* takes on a different meaning.

⁴ See A p. 21 (G p. 34) for the same incident in the same place. This is one of the central theses of post-destruction Judaism. The verse from Hosea was already quoted above.

⁵ See A p. 18 (G p. 32). For the importance of bridal and funeral processions and the relation of them to study, see Dov Zlotnick, *The Tractate Mourning* [Semahot] (Yale UP: 1966), Ch. 11:5-7 and notes on pp. 155-56; also 8:13 and notes on p. 141. It is clear in *Mourning* that in a conflict between work (acts of loving kindness) and study, if no one else is there to do it, the scholar must act. But if others are there, a scholar should continue studying. Also Ket 17a and Meg 3b and 29a.

⁶ *The Tractate Mourning* (previous note), 11:7; ARNA pp. 18-19 (G pp. 32-33). In both of these sources the statement is made by Rabbi Judah, that is, Judah bar Ilai (Ms. H) not Judah the Prince (Ms. R). Mss. P & N have Rabbi Judah.

God does an act of loving kindness in bringing Eve to her wedding (in a wedding procession, of course). See *Legends*, V, p. 90, n. 48.

⁷ For *gdlyt* and its variant spellings in the Mss. (Schechter, note 11 and p. 168), see Ben Yeduha, II, pp. 702-03 on *gd*: "to plait, twist."

⁸ This saying occurs anonymously in A p. 19 (G p. 33). For Simeon ben Menasia,

Similarly,⁹ Scripture says: "You have formed me behind and in front, and you lay your hand upon me (Ps. 139:5)." This teaches that when the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, his soulless lump was laid out from one end of the world to the other, as Scripture says: "Your eyes beheld my soulless lump... (Ps. 139:16)."¹⁰ Perhaps You did not see them until after you had made him into a soulless lump.¹¹ But

see Ch. 1, note 39. Gen 2:22 says "He made" (*wayyiben*) the rib into a woman. The root *bnh* ("to build; make") in Hebrew is identical to the root of the Aramaic word *bnht'*, which, we are told, means "plaiting" in sea towns. Thus Gen. 2:22 comes to mean that God "plaited", that is, fixed, Eve's hair and brought her to Adam. Further, in A p. 19 (G p. 33) another word for plaiting is *ql'yt'*, which comes from the root *ql'*, meaning "to adorn." This is further indication that God adorned Eve for her wedding. See also Aruch, II, p. 130 and Jastrow, p. 163 where *bynt'* means "hair". For parallels, see Ber 61a, Shab 95a, Erub 18a, Nid 45a, QohRab 7:2.

⁹ We now leave behind the interpretation of acts of loving kindness. For the rest of this chapter and the following one we read stories of the creation and especially of Adam and Eve. Schechter (p. xxv, n. 7) says that a large part of Chs. 8 and 9 is late, presumably this section of interpretation. It seems reasonable to conclude this, in general, since this long digression is not paralleled in Version A. (Similarly, many digressions in A have no parallels in B.)

¹⁰ Various verses are used to prove that when Adam was a soulless lump (*golem* : for the translation, see *Legends*, V, p. 79, n. 22), he extended over the whole world. Ps. 139:5 is used in LevRab 14:1 (Margulies, p. 297). Ps. 139:16 is used in BerRab 8:1 (T-A, p. 55) and MidPs 139:5 (Braude, II, p. 345); it is also used here as a second verse. Dt. 4:32 is used in Sanh 38b, Hag 12a, BerRab 21:3 (T-A, p. 199) and 24:2 (T-A, p. 230). Other sources (BerRab 8:1; 24:2; MidPs 139:5) also state that Adam's soulless lump extended from East to West—based on the second meanings of in front and behind, the words found in Ps. 139:5. Perhaps analogous reasoning applies "behind and in front" to "from one end of the world to the other."

Or perhaps Hag 12a guides us correctly when it interprets Ps. 139:5b "you lay your hand upon me" to mean that God diminished man from his original huge size. Verse 5a, then, must imply huge size, that is, Adam must have stretched from one end of the world to the other.

Ps. 139:16 says that God's eyes saw Adam's soulless lump, thus implying that Adam's *golem* was laid out somewhere. This verse itself does not prove that the soulless lump covered the earth, however.

¹¹ The Hebrew of this sentence is ambiguous and its place in the argument here is not clear. "Them" probably refers to Adam's descendants and their future. "You" probably refers to God. Ms. P has "him" instead of "them". Mss. N and H have "me".

One might get the idea that God did not know what Adam and the human race was to be until he saw Adam's soulless lump stretched out. However, Ps. 139:16b and Gen. 5:1 come to prove otherwise. All of future history was recorded in Adam's book.

This statement presumes the fact that God showed Adam all his descendants and their history while he lay as a soulless lump. Ps. 139:16 provides the proof given for this incident. God shows Adam all his descendants and tells him : Golem, what your eyes have

Scripture says : "In your book were written down everyone of them (Ps. 139:16)." Which is your book ? It is the book of Adam, as Scripture says : "This is the book of the generations of Adam (Gen. 5:1)."

Another interpretation. "You have formed me behind and in front and you lay your hand upon me (Ps. 139:5)." This teaches that when God created Adam, his soulless lump was laid out from one end of the world to the other, as Scripture says : "For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth and from one end of heaven to the other (Dt. 4:32)."¹² Perhaps (you are to ask about matters) before the creation of the world ? But Scripture says : "From one end of heaven to the other (Dt. 4:32)." You are not to inquire about what is above and what below and what will be.¹³

Another interpretation. "You have formed me behind and in front, and you lay your hand upon me (Ps. 139:5)." This teaches that when the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, the ministering angels sought to burn him. But God put His palm over him and protected him.¹⁴ He made peace between them, as Scripture says : "Dominion and fear are with him; he makes peace in his high heaven (Job 25:2)."¹⁵

Another interpretation. "You have formed me behind and in front (Ps 139:5)." This refers to Adam and Eve who were created as one.¹⁶

seen is already written down in your book. The book is, of course, the history of Adam. See B Ch. 42 (p. 116); A p. 91 (G p. 126); Sanh 38 b; BerRab 24:2 (T-A, p. 231); ExRab 40:3; Tan, *Tissa*, 12; PesRab 23:1 (Friedmann, 115a; Braude, pp. 472-72); MidPs 139:6 (Braude, II, p. 347); Sed01amRab, Ch. 30 (Ratner, pp. 150-51). See also AZ 5a.

¹² See note 10 above. Dt. 4:32 is perhaps the basis for the idea that Adam extended from one end of heaven to the other, and so presumably covered the whole earth.

¹³ The section of Dt. 4:32 quoted here leads to a mention of the prohibition against discussing what is above or below the earth, what preceded creation and what will follow this life. See Hag 2:1; Hag. 11b-12a; BerRab 1:10 (T-A, p. 8); PesRab 21:21 (Friedmann, 108b; Braude, p. 448). See also Hag 15a and TosHag 2:5.

"You are *not* to inquire" : Ms.P. This reading fits the sense of the passage best.

¹⁴ See A p. 8 (G p. 15) and *Legends*, V, p. 84, n. 33.

¹⁵ Job 25:2 is often quoted in the context of making peace. See Ch. 24, n. 4, below. Dominion and fear are interpreted as conflicting forces (angels) which God keeps near himself in harmony.

¹⁶ Gen. 1:27 says : "Male and female he created them." The rabbis concluded that Adam was first androgynous, that is, with a male face and body in front and a female face and body in back. This idea or myth of the origin of the two sexes (and of the sexual drive) has a long and complex history in Greek and Eastern religion. For a concise treatment and bibliography, see Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite* (Paris, 1958). In Plato's Symposium, 189e and following, this myth is used to explain the power of eros.

The word for rib, *sal'ah*, in Gen. 2:21 was interpreted to mean face. See ARNB p. 94

Then why was she not given to him immediately? For the Holy One, Blessed be He, foresaw that Adam would make himself a wooden platform to sit upon and act as judge.¹⁷ So an inference may be drawn. If something which he asked for with his own mouth, he turned into grounds for complaint, how much the more if he had given it to him from the first!¹⁸

God made the ranks of domestic animals, wild animals and birds pass before Adam, as Scripture says: "So out of the ground the Lord formed every beast of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name (Gen. 2:19)." He named the domestic animals domestic animals and then called each and every one by its own proper name. He called the wild animals wild animals and then called each one by its own proper name. He called the birds birds and then called each one by its own proper name. He called the ministering angels flying beings¹⁹ and then called each and every one by its own proper name. Some say that he also gave the Holy One, blessed be He, a name, as Scripture says: "And whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name (Gen. 2:19)." He called his name Lord. And similarly Scripture says: "The Lord is a man of war; the Lord is his name (Ex. 15:3)."²⁰

Adam began to complain before God and say before him: Master of

(Ch. 37); BerRab 8:1 (T-A, p. 55); LevRab 14:1 (Margulies, p. 296); Ber 61a; Erub 18a; MidPs 139:5 (Braude, II, pp. 343-35); Tan, *Tazria*, 1; and also *Legends*, V, pp. 88-89, n. 42.

¹⁷ "Platform" is here the Greek word "*bēma*", the raised dais on which judges sat in court. A similar phrase is used in BerRab 76:7 (T-A, p. 905; see note there) in reference to Esau judging Jacob when they met. This mention of the *bēma* fits the naming of the animals in the paragraph below better than the complaints against Eve. Perhaps the complaints against Eve intruded here.

¹⁸ Adam's complaint about Eve is found in Gen 3:12. If he had not asked for Eve himself (See below), then he would have blamed God totally for giving her to him. See *Legends*, I, p. 65 and V, pp. 86-87, n. 38. *Ntnw* is *ne'tānō*: if God had given it, that is, the grounds for complaint, Eve.

¹⁹ See Is. 6:2 where the Seraphs are said to fly (*y'e'ōpēp*); the same root ('*pp*') is used here. See also BerRab 3:8 (T-A, p. 24) where Gen 1:20 and the root '*pp*' is applied to the ministering angels. And see below Ch. 25 (p. 52) and n. 24 there.

²⁰ For Adam's naming of the animals, himself and God, see BerRab 17:4 (T-A, pp. 155-56); QohRab 7:23; MidPs 8:2 (Brause, I, p. 121); PRK, p. 61; PesRab 14:9 (Friedmann, 59b-60a; Braude, p. 273); Tan, *Huqqat*, 6; TanBub, *Num.*, pp. 110-11. God is named "Lord" because he is Lord of all. "Lord" is "'*adonāy*," the substitute for the Tetragrammaton.

the world, you created a mate for every creature which you created in your world, but I have no mate, as Scripture says : "But for the man there was not found a helper fit for him (Gen. 2:20)."²¹ When Adam saw Eve, he said : This is my mate, as Scripture says : "And Adam said : This at last is bone of my bones (Gen. 2:23)."²² This (one) time woman was created from man ; from now on a man takes the daughter of his fellowman and is commanded to increase and multiply.²³ This (one) time God acted as best man for Adam ; from now on a man gets a best man for himself.²⁴

p. 24 Here is a question a Roman matron asked Rabbi Joshua.²⁵ She said to him : Rabbi, was not the creation of the world a case of theft from the very beginning? Did the king actually steal from his own? He answered : Heaven forbid, God does not steal anything. He said to her : I will tell you a parable. To what may the matter be likened? To a king who built a big palace and surrounded it with a wall of iron and published an edict saying : Anyone who is found stealing should know that the (following) sentence will be passed on him.²⁶ The king arose at night and removed a mud brick and replaced it with a gold one.

²¹ The author seems to interpret Gen 2:20 as an attitude of Adam. Adam named all the animals but was unable to find one fit for himself. So, presumably he was dissatisfied and complained to God. (See n. 18 above.)

²² For Adam's first reaction to Eve, see *Legends*, V, p. 87, n. 39.

²³ See A p. 19 (G p. 33) and BerRab 8:9 (T-A, p. 63).

²⁴ See A p. 19 (G p. 33) and Ber 61a. Also, BerRab 8:13 (T-A, p. 67); TanBub, *Gen.*, pp. 86 and 116; QohRab 7:2. God's care in adorning the bride, whom he brings to Adam, is also mentioned in many midrashim. See *Legends*, V, p. 90, n. 48; also I, p. 68.

²⁵ Joshua ben Hananiah was a disciple of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai. He went to Rome twice, once around C.E. 85 with Rabban Gamaliel II and Eliezer ben Hyrkanos and again around C.E. 96 with Gamaliel, Akiba, and Eleazar ben Azariah (see Mak 24b and Lam 5:18; Finkelstein, *Akiba*, pp. 136-37 and nn. 1 and 2; Bacher, I, pp. 212-13; and Ch. 7, n. 31 above.) In BerRab 17:7 (T-A, p. 158), the speaker is said to be Rabbi Jose of the post-Hadrianic generation, but this is certainly an error for Joshua.

²⁶ The Hebrew "*dinô din*" seems idiomatic. "*dinô*" means "his case" and "*din*" is the passive participle "is judged." The law is clear : If a certain offence is committed, a certain sentence will be passed on the offender.

Or the phrase might mean : "his punishment will be just." For this, see Ber 5b : '*byd dyn*' *bl' dyn*' : "Is the Holy One, blessed be He, suspected of punishing without justice?" (Soncino, p. 22). The point here is that God was very clear in his command to Adam and Eve and did exactly as he had said he would. The incident that best fits this parable thus far is the forbidding of the tree to Adam and Eve. But the following sentence about the brick in the wall and the idea of "theft" refer best to God's taking of Adam's rib, an act explicitly treated in the next paragraph. Perhaps two ideas have been mixed in this paragraph.

Then he published an edict,²⁷ saying : Anyone who is found extracting²⁸ it should know that the following sentence will be passed on him. Everyone who saw the brick praised it. In the same way, when he saw Eve, he said : "This at last is bone of my bones... (Gen. 2:23)."²⁹ I will tell you another parable. To what may the matter be likened ? To a person who took a liter of meat from the butcher and there was a bone in the meat. So he said to the butcher : Here, take this bone for yourself and give me meat instead. Now, does such a person steal anything ?³⁰ She said : No, he doesn't. He said to her : God acted in the same way with Adam. He took a bone from him and gave him flesh instead, as Scripture says : "And he took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh (Gen. 2:21)."

What is more, whenever a man has been exposed to a young girl who is full of blood,³¹ he does not quickly marry her because he is revolted

²⁷ *dywtgm'* transliterates the Greek *diatagma*.

²⁸ The root *nsr* means "to saw." Here it must mean "to extract" the brick from the wall; this might be done with a picking or prying motion. See Schechter, n. 28.

²⁹ The focus now shifts from God's clear and just command to Adam and Eve to Eve herself and the objection that God acted like a thief in taking a rib from Adam while he was asleep and did not give him a chance to choose whether to have a rib taken.

³⁰ The language of this parable is not fully clear. Schechter's reconstruction of the parable in note 29 makes it parallel the story in Genesis more closely by having God (the butcher) take back the bone and give Adam flesh (Eve). The story as it stands recalls a previous theme, that Adam himself asked for his mate (the flesh in place of bone) and therefore has no grounds for complaint. (See notes 18 and 21 above.)

³¹ The expression "full of blood" used of a young girl appears to be unique to this passage. Three interpretations suggest themselves : first, full of blood means menstruating. The theme would be that of the following story, that the long familiarity of the man and woman lessens the chance for marriage. Three difficulties oppose this interpretation. First, the usual expression for a menstruant is "one who sees blood (*rw'h dm*). Second, why is the woman's menstrual cycle the nub of the man's complaint, and not their general living in the same family. Third, the expression "is revolted by her" (*lbw gs bh*) is rather strong to describe the results of a family relationship.

A second interpretation connects the expression "full of blood" with the birth of the little baby girl. The immediately previous stories concerned the creation of Eve. There are stories of how Adam witnessed the making of his first wife and was revolted by her (*Legends*, I, p. 68; V, p. 90, n. 46). Consequently, with Eve God puts him to sleep and presents him with the finished product. See further Niddah 25a where full of blood is used of an embryo's sack in a miscarriage. Yet what is the point of such an interpretation ? It would be that a man who witnessed the birth of a girl would refuse to marry her. A third possibility is that "full of blood" may indicate a blood relationship. None of these considerations solve the problem. We are dealing with the expression "full of blood" as it was used in living language—it does not fit our usual stock of Hebrew technical

by her. And furthermore, whenever a woman grows up with a man he does not quickly marry her because he regards her as his sister. She said to him : Rabbi, you have convinced me. I also grew up with my cousin and because I grew up with him, he did not want to marry me and he married another woman, uglier than me³².

expressions. Tentatively, then, I opt for the meaning "a girl who is menstruating."

³² See BerRab 17:7 (T-A, p. 158); 18:4 (T-A, p. 164); Sanh 39a. The theme of male-female relations continues into Chapter 9 as interpretation of Gen. 2:23.

CHAPTER NINE

“Bone of my bones (Gen. 2:23).”¹ Why is it hard for a woman to be reconciled and easy for man to be reconciled? Because woman was created from bone and man was created from earth. Even as bone, though you submerge it in water, does not soften,² so is woman who is created from bone. Man is created from earth. Even as earth becomes soft when you put a drop of water on it, so is man.

Why does woman adorn herself and man not adorn himself? Because the woman was created from the man and the man was created from the earth. Even as flesh will go bad if you do not put in the spices it needs, so is woman. If she is not adorned, she goes bad.³ But earth does not go bad, and man is the same way.

Why does woman’s voice travel and man’s voice not travel? A parable. To what can this be compared? To a pot which is full of meat; people do not know what is in the pot. Had there been bone in it, the sound would travel and people would know what is in it. In the same way woman’s voice travels.⁴

Why does the man deposit (his sperm) in the woman and the woman not deposit in the man? A parable. To what may this be compared? To a person who was holding onto a deposit. He kept seeking someone to give it back to.⁵

Why does the man make demands of the woman and the woman not make demands on the man? Because man seeks that part of him which was lost, but the part of him which was lost does not seek him out.⁶

¹ Gen 2:23 is the only Scriptural verse quoted in this chapter. The chapter continues the theme of male-female relations which closed Chapter 8. Their respective origins in earth and in bone or flesh are made the basis for a series of contrasts with a common pattern: Why does a woman such and such and a man not. Many of these contrasts are found in BerRab 17:8 (T-A, pp. 158-60); see Tan, *Toledot*, 8 for the contrast of earth and bone; see also *Legends*, I, p. 67 and V, pp. 89-90, n. 45.

² *šrh* literally means “be dissolved; fall apart.”

³ “To go bad” in reference to a woman must here mean “prove unattractive.”

⁴ A solid object (bone) would cause a high pitched sound; soft flesh would cause only a dull, muffled sound. See BerRab 17:8 (T-A, p. 159).

⁵ See BerRab 17:8 (T-A, p. 159) for more explicit terminology: *mḡpyd zr’*. See also Schechter, n. 7. The man is compared to a person keeping something not his. He is responsible and is eager to return the deposit to the person to whom it belongs.

⁶ See BerRab 17:8 and also a similar thought in A p. 4 (G p. 10); Kid 2b. This is a

Why does the woman look at the man and the man look at the earth ? Because the woman looks at the stuff out of which she was created and the man looks at the stuff out of which he was created.⁷

Why does woman cover her head and man not cover his head⁸ A parable. To what may this be compared ? To a woman who disgraced herself and because she disgraced herself, she is ashamed in the presence of people. In the same way Eve disgraced herself and caused her daughters to cover their heads.

Why do women march first in front of the bier ? What is it they say ? We caused all the inhabitants of the world to come to this.⁹

For three offenses women die when they are giving birth : For carelessness in regard to menstrual purity, the dough offering and lighting the sabbath lamp.¹⁰

Why were the commandments of menstrual purity given to woman and not to man ? Because Adam was the blood of the Holy One, blessed be He ; Eve came and spilled it. Consequently, the commandments of menstrual purity were given to her so that (the sin involved in) the blood which she spilled might be atoned for.¹¹

euphemism for sexual intercourse. Gen. 3:16 speaks of the woman's desire for the man and would fit the pattern in other paragraphs here where the woman is usually the first one mentioned and the man second. But the parallel supports ARNB and the reverse order, as in the text.

⁷ This, of course, refers to the usual position taken in sexual intercourse. See BerRab 17:8.

⁸ See A p. 4 (G p. 10) ; BerRab 17:8. Also below Ch. 42, p. 117, l. 11. In this paragraph the theme begins to turn to the subjugation and inferiority of women, and to Eve's responsibility for the sin in the garden of Eden, a theme continued in the following paragraphs. See the New Testament, 1 Cor. 11:2-16 for the covering of a woman's head as a sign of subjugation and its uncovering as a sign of shame equal to baldness. In ARNA p. 15 (G p. 27) and BabKam 8:6 Akiba fines a man 400 zuz for uncovering a woman's head in the market place. See also *Legends*, V, p. 90, n. 45.

⁹ See below, Ch 42 (p. 117, l. 12) and Schechter's note 12.

¹⁰ These three commands are the classic ones for women. See ARNB, Ch. 42, p. 117 (bottom) ; Shab 2:6 ; Shab 31b-32a ; JerShab 2:6 ; TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 28 ; *Lev.*, p. 53. See also *Legends*, V, pp. 89-90, n. 45. For a pictorial representation of these three duties on a small silver box of the fifteenth century in the Bezalel Museum (Jerusalem), see Elias Bickerman, *HTR* 56 (1965), p. 131.

¹¹ The Mss. read *ytkpr*, a masculine form, both here and below ; the versions mentioned in the previous note also have this form. The subject be *ht'*, sin.

In BerRab Eve is pronounced guilty because she simply shed Adam's blood. In B, here, her sin is compounded by the fact that Adam is himself the blood of God. Further on in this chapter, in B, p. 117 and in Jer Shab 2:6 Adam is the blood of the world.

Lieberman (*Yerushalmi Ki Phshuto*, pp. 72-73) proves that in Palestine *dm* (blood)

Why was the commandment of the dough offering given to woman and not to man? Because Adam was the pure dough offering of the Holy One, blessed be He, and she made him impure. Consequently, the commandment of the dough offering was given to her so that (the sin involved in) the dough offering which she made impure might be atoned for.

Why was the commandment concerned with the Sabbath lamp given to woman and not to man? Because Adam was the light of the Holy One, blessed be He; by him He brought light to all the inhabitants of the world. She extinguished it.¹² Consequently, the commandment concerned with the Sabbath lamp was given to her and she was put under obligation to light the lamp so that (the sin involved in) the lamp which she extinguished might be atoned for.

Adam was the blood of the world. Because she caused its spilling, she was put under obligation to observe the law of menstrual purity. Adam was the dough offering of the world. Because she caused him to become impure, she was put under obligation to observe the law of the dough offering. Adam was the lamp of the world. Because she caused the lamp to be extinguished, she was put under obligation to observe the lighting of the (Sabbath) lamp. On the basis of this the Sages said:¹³ For three offenses women die when they are giving birth: for carelessness in regard to menstrual purity, the dough offering and lighting the Sabbath lamp.¹⁴

and 'dm (man; Adam) were pronounced similarly. Hence the identification of Adam as blood.

¹² Other sources quote Prov. 20:27: "The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord." The image of a person as the light of the world is often used of Jesus in the New Testament. See especially the Gospel according to John.

¹³ Schetcher (p. xxv, n. 7) says that this introductory phrase (*mk'n 'mrw*) is a sign of lateness. But see J. N. Epstein, *Mabo le-Nusah Ha-Mishnah*, p. 728 where the same phrase is used to introduce a mishnah in the halakic midrashim. Granted that this saying is not strict halaka, the phrase and following saying could easily be an early component of ARNB. See p. 12, l. 15 (Ch. 3, n. 5) for this expression with a halakah.

¹⁴ This paragraph is a doublet of what went before, in a more concise form. See Schechter, n. 28, who attributes it to a scribe's error.

CHAPTER TEN

ANTIGONUS OF SOKO¹ TOOK OVER FROM SIMEON THE RIGHTEOUS. HE USED TO SAY : BE NOT LIKE SLAVES THAT SERVE THEIR MASTER FOR THE SAKE OF REWARD :² BE RATHER LIKE SLAVES WHO SERVE THEIR MASTER WITH NO THOUGHT OF REWARD. AND LET THE FEAR OF HEAVEN
p. 26 BE UPON YOU, and you will receive a reward, both in this world and in the world to come, as if you had done (it yourself).³

He had two disciples, Saddok and Boethus, and when they heard this saying, they taught it to their disciples.⁴ And their disciples quoted

¹ Antigonus is a Greek name, as is Abtalyon below (PA 1:10). The presence of such names in a Jewish chain of tradition suggests the influence of Hellenism in Palestine.

Soko (Biblical *swkw*) is a place in Judah. BDB (p. 963) distinguishes two Soko's, one in the Shephelah and another in the hill country south of Hebron.

The expression "of Soko" in Hebrew is "a man of" (*'yś*). It seems to mean simply that the person comes from that place, not that he is a notable of the place. See its use in Hal 4:10; Orlah 2:5, 12, Git 6:7; Eduy 6:2; Mid 1:2.

² Originally the maxim of Antigonus referred to the living allowance (*prs*) which a master could grant or not grant to his slaves in Hellenistic times. See Elias J. Bickerman, "The Maxim of Antigonus of Socho," *HTR* 44 (1951), 153-65. When the word *prs* was no longer understood, it came to mean reward or compensation of some kind—its meaning here.

³ See A p. 26 (G p. 39). In both A and B the idea of compensation in the future life has been added to the maxim of Antigonus. (The maxim's original import was a denial of resurrection from the dead [Finkelstein, *Pharisees*, pp. 153-54].) Lest people act only with reference to this life and the immediate fear of God, a later teacher added this final clause to the saying.

The text in Ms. R is difficult. I have followed Mss H and P and Schechter. Schechter (n. 2) suggests that this final sentence might have been added by a copyist, imitating PA 2:2. Yet, ARNA (p. 26; G p. 39) also adds a sentence with a similar meaning. And the sentence fits well with the following interpretations. Therefore, it may have been original to ARN.

⁴ Version A does not explicitly say that Saddok and Boethus were disciples of Antigonus. But it does say that he had two disciples and Saddok and Boethus are mentioned a bit later in the chapter. On the other hand, if we accept Boethus as the founder of the Herodian high priestly family, which opposed the regular (Sadokite) high priestly family (Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, 320-22; XVII, 164 and 339), then the two were not disciples of Antigonus. The texts as they stand favor Saddok and Boethus as disciples of Antigonus; B states this and A certainly allows of that interpretation.

Yet, Finkelstein (*Pharisees*, pp. 765-68) argues persuasively that A is the earlier version and that according to it Saddok and Boethus were not disciples of Antigonus. The pairs mentioned after Antigonus in PA were actually his disciples and they must be

the statement of their master but they did not offer its interpretation. (The last mentioned disciples) said to those (who had quoted Antigonus' statement):⁵ If you had known that the resurrection of the dead is the reward of the just in the age to come, would you have spoken, in this manner?⁶ They went and withdrew and two sects developed from them:⁷ the Sadducees and the Boethusians, the Sadducees named after Saddok and the Boethusians named after Boethus.

BE NOT LIKE SLAVES THAT SERVE THEIR MASTER FOR THE SAKE OF REWARD.⁸ It was proper that they said that in this world the righteous

the "two" mentioned here, not Saddok and Boethus. Thus, he interprets Antigonus' two disciples in A as Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem. This position is, however, highly speculative.

⁵ The antecedents in this section are not clear and, consequently, neither is the number of generations of disciples. "And their disciples quoted the statement spoken by their Master. ..." These disciples could be the disciples of Saddok and Boethus mentioned in the previous sentence or the disciples of those disciples. (See the connection to the previous sentence). Their Master could be Antigonus or Saddok and Boethus. Finkelstein (*Pharisees*, p. 775) has only two generations after Antigonus in his translation of this section of Version B, Saddok and Boethus and their disciples. Ms. H, however, specifically adds another generation, "the disciples of their disciples." Version A has three generations after Antigonus.

⁶ Literally: "Would they have spoken in this manner?" ARNA has: "They would not have spoken in this manner," but "you" is needed in this context for the sentence to make sense. Note that A puts almost the same thought negatively that B puts in a question. Ms. N has, like A, "not" (*l'*).

This observation of the disciples indicates a return to ancient tradition. They realized that the maxim of Antigonus did not allow a future life. These disciples must have been taught the Pharisaic interpretation in which the future life was consistent with the saying. Perhaps the added clause on the world to come (see note 3) had already been formulated. Here they rebel against what they are taught and return to the earlier tradition. This controversy argues for Finkelstein's date in the time of John Hyrcanus, when Pharisees and Sadducees were in sharp conflict. (See Finkelstein, *Pharisees*, pp. 767 and 771; and see the previous note.)

⁷ *prš* means both "interpret" and "withdraw". Here it means withdraw in the Mishnaic and Talmudic sense of forming an unorthodox sect separate from Pharisaic Judaism. Version A gives a more full phrase: "withdraw from the Torah."

Version B uses *mšphh* (translated "sect" here); it means family, kinship. This choice of word may reflect the view that the Sadducees and Boethusians were two priestly houses. (See Finkelstein, *Pharisees*, p. 770 and Louis Ginzberg, "Boethusians," in *JE*, Vol. III, p. 285.) Version A uses *pršwt*, which means "break; split" and then "sect". The choice of this word reflects the fact that both groups withdrew from the Torah, that is, broke off from orthodox Judaism.

⁸ Ms. H adds here: "Rather serve out of fear as did Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah who said to Nebuchadnezzar: 'Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning, fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of your hand, O king. (Dan. 3:17)'

receive only a partial reward—only because of those who lack faith,⁹ as Scripture says : “Turn away your eyes from me, for they disturb me (Song 6:5).” They compelled Me to have it said that in this world¹⁰ the righteous receive only a partial reward.

BE RATHER LIKE SLAVES WHO SERVE THEIR MASTER WITH NO THOUGHT OF REWARD AND LET THE FEAR OF HEAVEN BE UPON YOU.¹¹ A parable of a man who does his master’s will while his mind rebels against his master’s will, or a man who does his father’s will while his mind rebels against his father’s will.¹²

One who acts out of love is not like one who acts out of awe and fear. The one who acts out of love inherits the life of this world and does not inherit the life of the world to come. The one who acts out of awe and fear inherits the life of this world and the life of the world to come¹³.

They did not say he will actually save us but he is able to.” Schechter (note 5) says that this may have been omitted in Ms. R by a scribe. See also SongRab 7:8; Sifre Dt 306 (Finkelstein, p. 343); Tan, *Beha’alotka*, 9.

⁹ Who said that only part of the reward of the just occurs in this life? This is not clear. Even if the section contained in the previous note is original, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah do not say that God will definitely save them (reward them), but only that he is able to. Perhaps they were replying to those who challenged providence by saying that the righteous, who received all their reward in this world, were got getting due reward.

Schechter (note 6) presents a number of unsatisfactory parallels and then cites the witness of Rabbi Yom Tov Sahalon : “It is reasonable that he did *not* say that part of the reward of the just is in this world, but...” [emphasis mine]. For a parallel thought-pattern see Sifre Dt 330 (Finkelstein, p. 380).

¹⁰ Song 6:5 means that the people look to God for help; so He gives in and grants them part of their reward now. I follow Ms. N. Ms. R (followed by Schechter) reads “in the age to come.” Either fits since the position assumes that part of their reward was now and part in the world to come.

¹¹ The last sentence of Antigonus’ maxim does not occur here in the Mss. Yet it seems relevant and Schechter adds it.

See Paul in the New Testament where a slave is to serve his human master fully, but for the sake of Christ and God, his real master (Eph. 6:5-8 and Col. 3:22-4:1).

¹² This sentence comments on “Let the fear of heaven be upon you.” It is not a real parable, though it is labelled as such; it seems distinct in form from the following section, though it adds to the theme developed there. The parable seems to exemplify a bad kind of fear of God—one rife with rebellion.

¹³ The usual rabbinic teaching is that love is a better motive than fear. However, Ms. H, which I have followed here, sees fear as the best motive. Ms. R, given in Schechter’s text, reverses the places of love and fear and makes love the best motive.

The paragraph ends (“For we find that this was the case ...”) with the assumption that fear has been presented previously in the paragraph as the highest motive. In addition, it is hard to image fear being later made the highest motive by some copyist.

For we find that this was the case among the early fathers, that they worked because of awe and fear and they inherited the life of this world and of the world to come. What does Scripture say about Abraham : “For now I know that you fear God (Gen. 22:12).” What does Scripture say about Joseph : “For I fear God (Gen. 42:18).” What does Scripture say about Jonah ? “And I fear God (Jonah 1:9).”¹⁴

We more likely have an early Shammaite teaching which has survived correction in one manuscript.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 32-35) gives Ms. H as the original version, and holds, contrary to Schechter, note 11, that it represents early Shammaite teaching. He adduces as proof the list of seven kinds of Pharisees found in Sotah 22b. The last mentioned group (in a list of ascending merit) is the group motivated by fear. Just below them are the ones motivated by love See Ch. 45 below, note 7; also on the question of love and fear : MishSotah 5:5; Sotah 31a; Pes 50b; Mech RS, p. 148:15-18.

¹⁴ Gen. 22:12 is combined with Is. 41:8 in Sotah 31a to prove that the fear mentioned here is really love.

Abraham, Job and Joseph are several times mentioned together as Godfearers (NumRab 22:1; Tan, *Mattot*, 1; TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 9; *Num.*, p. 157).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

p. 27 JOSE BEN JOEZER OF ZEREDAH¹ AND JOSEPH BEN JOHANAN OF JERUSALEM TOOK OVER FROM THEM.² JOSE BEN JOEZER OF ZEREDAH SAYS: LET YOUR HOUSE BE A MEETING PLACE FOR THE SAGES, AND SIT IN THE VERY DUST AT THEIR FEET, AND THIRSTILY DRINK IN THEIR WORDS.³

LET YOUR HOUSE BE A MEETING PLACE FOR THE SAGES. This is because every time that Sages and their disciples enter a man's house, the house is blessed by their merit.⁴ And we find that this was the case with Jacob our father; from the time time Jacob entered the house of Laban, the house was blessed by his merit, as Scripture says: "For you had little before I came, and it has increased abundantly; and the Lord has blessed you wherever I turned (Gen. 30:30)." And similarly Laban says: "I have learned by divination that the Lord has blessed me because of you... (Gen. 30:27)."

And you find this is the case with Joseph; from the time he entered the house of Potiphar, the house was blessed by his merit, as Scripture says: "From the time that he made him overseer in his house and over all that he had, the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's

¹ Zeredah is not certainly identified.

² Both ARNA p. 33 and B here name the second member of this pair Joseph. PA reads Jose. For Jose as a shortened form of Joseph and their frequent substitution, see Taylor, II, p. 135.

Jose ben Joezer was a prominent priest (Hag. 2:7 [Joseph] and Sotah 47a). He may have been among the sixty Hasideans killed by Alcimus in B.C.E. 162 (1 Macc. 7:16; Jos. Ant XII, 10, 2-3). Lauterbach (*Rabbinic Essays*, pp. 163-265) sees Jose as pivotal in the rise of Mishnaic law, parallel to Biblical law.

"Took over from them" is the stylized phrase used from now on in the chain of tradition. But Antigonus, the previous link in the tradition, should be referred to by "from him". Strack (p. 107) suggests that this implies a gap in the chain, as does Lauterbach "Midrash and Mishnah," in *Rabbinic Essays* (Cincinnati, 1951), pp. 196, n. 38. However, "from them" is so stylized that it may have worked its way into this position, even though it is not appropriate.

³ Though this saying has three parts, the parts really form a whole with a single theme. (See Goldin, "The End of Ecclesiastes," p. 150, n. 84 for this idea).

⁴ This chapter stressed the blessing brought on a householder who receives and entertains scholars and emphasizes respect for study and scholars in general. See also Ber 42a. Note that the Biblical examples which follow implicitly identify the Patriarchs as scholars.

sake;" the Scripture similarly says: "The blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had in house and field (Gen. 39:5)."⁵

And you find that this is the case with the ark of God; from the time it entered the house of Obededom, the house was blessed by its merit, as Scripture says: "The Lord has blessed the household of Obedom and all that belong to him, because of the ark of God (2Sam. 6:12)." An inference can be drawn here: just as the house was blessed by the merit of the ark of God, in which there were only two tables of the commandments, all the more will a man's house be blessed by the merits of the Sages and their disciples who enter the house.⁶

- p. 28 Another interpretation. LET YOUR HOUSE BE A MEETING PLACE FOR THE SAGES. When a Sage enters your house, do not behave contemptuously toward him and do not sit with him on a bed or on a bench, but make it your custom to sit at his feet on the ground⁷ and receive all his teaching with awe and fear just as you listen to him in the study house.⁸ For we find that this was the case with Joshua, that he waited for Moses our Master forty days and forty nights at the foot of the

⁵ For the blessings which followed Jacob and Joseph, see Sifre Dt 381 (Finkelstein, pp. 75-76); BerRab 73:8 (T-A, p. 852); Tan. Balak, 12; TanBub, Num., p. 142; see also BerRab 86:6 (T-A, p. 1058).

⁶ The Sages and disciples are somehow more valuable or meritorious than the tables of the commandments. Perhaps ARNB implies that the scholars know both the written and oral law. The tables contain only the ten commandments; the scholars teach the 613 commandments.

NumRab 4:20 and SongRab 2:5 set the gaining of merit in the householder's response to the scholars' need for food, drink and bed. The ark made no such demands on Obededom and so his merit was less.

⁷ Schechter adds "on the ground" on the basis of line 15 below.

⁸ The paragraph thus far is repeated below. Its parallel in A p. 27 (G p. 40) also occurs twice. The first clause of the sentence, "Do not behave contemptuously toward him," fits this lemma, "Let your house be a meeting place for sages." (Version A speaks of receiving a scholar who wants to be taught and one who comes from the country—both of them pleas for respect.)

The rest of the sentence interprets the following clause of Jose's saying: "Sit in the very dust at their feet." In A the second occurrence of this whole sentence comes under that second clause of Jose's saying. Perhaps the two attitudes, hospitality and respect, became closely joined and then were repeated together.

Note that B speaks of the awe and fear characteristic of the school house, where disciples sat on the floor and the masters on stools or benches (BabMez 84b; and negatively Meg 21a). ARNA, however, speaks of Mount Sinai. (B immediately follows with an example drawn from Sinai.) B has again, in this chapter, stressed respect for scholars and learning.

mountain. Why did he do all this? Because he learned from him one section of the Torah.⁹

Another interpretation. (Your house is a meeting place for Sages¹⁰) when a sage says to his colleague: Where did you come from? From so and so's place. Or: I will go to so and so's place before you. Or: I will wait for you at so and so's place.¹¹

Another interpretation. LET YOUR HOUSE BE A MEETING PLACE FOR THE SAGES. (Your house is a meeting place for sages) when a Sage says to his colleague: So and so fed me this and gave me that to drink. He provided me with this and gave me that as a present.¹²

Another interpretation. LET YOUR HOUSE BE A MEETING PLACE FOR SAGES. This means that when a sage enters your house, do not behave contemptuously toward him and do not sit on a bed or on a bench, but make it your custom to sit as his feet on the ground and receive all his teaching with awe and fear just as you listen to him in the study house.¹³ For we find that this was the case with the men of Jerusalem when they came to inquire of the Lord from Ezekiel. What does Scripture say? "In the seventh year, in the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month, certain of the leaders of Israel came to inquire of the Lord and sat before me (Ez. 20:1)."

They said to him: Rabbi, one who sells his slave to a Gentile or to someone outside the land of Israel, does he not go free?¹⁴ He said

⁹ Joshua waited for Moses respectfully because Moses was his teacher and he had learned Torah from him. The expression "one section of the Torah" is a stereotyped expression and does not have an emphasis on the word *one* either here or in Ch. 12 (p. 29) and note 6 there. For further use of the expression, see Ch. 27 at note 27 and Ch. 28 at note 5. See also Mech (Lauterbach, II, p. 164, 11. 32-33) where it has its literal meaning.

¹⁰ I add the clause in parentheses to make the sense of the interpretation clear.

¹¹ This paragraph gives a rule of thumb by which one can tell whether a house is a meeting place for Sages. See A p. 27 (G p. 40). The point is that a person's house should be so familiar to scholars and so open to them at all times that they can use it for a regular and known meeting place. The house should be like a favorite coffee shop or pub near today's university.

¹² Stress is here placed on the sustenance provided for scholars after they are welcomed into the house. This is further emphasis on respect for scholars, a theme of this chapter. See note 6 above and Ch. 14 below, note 16.

¹³ A repetition. See note 8 above.

¹⁴ This dialogue depends on Ez 20:1 ff. It was suggested by the immediately preceding quotation of Ez. 20:1a.

If a master attempted to sell his slave to a foreigner, the slave became free (Git 4:6). See Arakin 3b where one may not be taken out of the land of Israel against his will.

to them : Correct. They said to him : Look now, God sold us to all the governments and peoples of the different lands. Come and see how God answers them :¹⁵ "As I live... I will not be inquired of by you... What is in your mind shall never happen—the thought, 'Let us be like the nations, like the tribes of the countries, and worship wood and stone.' As I live, says the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you (Ez. 20:1 & 32-33)." With a mighty hand : this is plague, as Scripture says : "Behold the hand of the Lord will fall with a very severe plague upon your cattle... (Ex. 9:3)." With an outstretched arm : This is the sword, as Scripture says : "And David lifted his eyes and saw the angel of the Lord standing between earth and heaven, and in his hand a drawn sword stretched out over Jerusalem (1 Ch. 21:16)." With wrath poured out : this is famine, as Scripture says : "And he that is left and is preserved shall die of famine. Thus I will spend my wrath upon them (Ez. 6:12)."¹⁶

Similarly Scripture says : "He who walks with wise men becomes wise (Prov. 13:20)."¹⁷ To what may this be compared ? To one who enters a spice shop. Although nothing is sold to him¹⁸ and he takes nothing from the shop, when he leaves, his odor and that of his clothes are that of spices and the odor does not leave him all day. Consequently Scripture says : "He who walks with wise men becomes wise."

"But the companion of fools will suffer harm (Prov. 13:20)." To what may this be compared ? To one who enters a tanner's shop. Although nothing is sold to him and he takes nothing from the shop, when he leaves, his odor and that of his clothes are foul and the odor does not leave him all day. Consequently Scripture says : "But the companion of fools will suffer harm."¹⁹

Similarly Scripture says : "Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, you and your friends who sit before you... (Zech. 3:8)." Perhaps the rest of the men were common citizens ? Scripture says : "For they are

For the Biblical law on slavery, see Ex. 21:1-11, especially 8; Dt. 23:15; and in general Lev. 25:39-54 and Dt. 15:12-18.

¹⁵ Ms R : "it" Schechter emends to "them".

¹⁶ See ARNB earlier at page 4 for a similar midrash where the same three, plague, sword and famine, occur in a different order. See also SifreNum 15:41 (Horovitz, p. 128).

¹⁷ Prov. 13:20 is quoted to further prove the value of opening one's house to scholars.

¹⁸ *y mkur* ("sell") here and below *mkr* ("sold").

¹⁹ See PRE, Ch. 15; MidProv 13:20 (Buber, p. 72).

men of a sign (Zech. 3:8).” This shows that they were fit to have the Holy Spirit rest upon them.²⁰

²⁰ Zech. 3:8 is usually used to prove that prophets come after the high priest in the order of dignity and precedence (Hor 13a; JerHor 3:8; TosHor 2:9; NumRab 86:1). The men of a sign (*môpēl*) are taken to be prophets (ones who do signs). Our passage hints in this direction by saying that those who sat before Joshua the high priest were fit to receive the Holy Spirit (like prophets). But the overall point here seems to be that the people who sat (studied) before Joshua the priest were affected by this (Prov. 13:20 above proves this) and became fit to receive the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER TWELVE

AND SIT IN THE VERY DUST AT THEIR FEET. As Scripture says : "Let him put his mouth in the dust—there may yet be hope... (Lam. 3:19)."¹

- p. 29 Another interpretation.² If you labored at Torah in this world, then your lips will be kissed in the age to come, as Scripture says : "He who gives a right answer kisses the lips (Prov. 24:26)."

Another interpretation. AND SIT IN THE VERY DUST AT THEIR FEET. This refers to Rabbi Akiba who sought to study Torah.³ He went and sat by a well in Lod and saw a trench⁴ which was dug out (next to the well). He said : Who dug out this trench ? They said to him : The rope. He said to them : Is that possible ? They answered : Yes, because the rope is always (rubbing) on it. They said to him : Are you surprised at this ? (Why,) water wears away stones, as Scripture says : "The waters wear away the stones... (Job 14:19)."⁵ He said : Is my heart harder than stone ? I will go and study a section of Torah.⁶ He went to the school house and began to read from a student's tablet, he and his

¹ Lam. 3:29 interprets the word dust. In context, the author is hoping for salvation from God. Here the hope must be for learning and wisdom

² The lemma is not repeated preceding this interpretation, though it is repeated in the following one.

³ The series of Akiba stories also occur in A pp. 28-30 (G pp. 41-42) in approximately the same order and form. In ARNA (p. 28; G p. 41) "sit in the very dust" is applied to Eliezer and "drink thirstily" (next chapter in B) is applied to Akiba.

⁴ *ḥwly* is usually a section, vertebrae, or joint. Jastrow (p. 434) also the meaning : a trench and pile of dirt thrown up around the mouth of a well to catch the spilled water. If stones were placed at the mouth of the well at ground level and then a little trench or pool made around them, the rope, at it was pulled, would wear away the dirt walls of the pool. For a picture of the grooves worn in the stones around the mouth of a well in the Middle East, see Samuel Ives Curtis, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* (Revell : Chicago, 1902), p. 36. Page 37 has the picture of an unopened well with no stones around the mouth.

⁵ The proof verse speaks of water wearing away stone and this has been paralleled to the wearing down of the edge of the well by the rope. Version A (p. 28 [G p. 41]) speaks of stones hollowed out by water all the way through the story.

⁶ Akiba implies that Torah will wear away his heart as water does the rock. Version A brings out the inference more explicitly and also likens the Torah to iron. For the expression "one section of the Torah," see Ch. 11, n. 9.

son. He studied Scripture, Targum, Midrash, Halaka, and Aggadah,⁷ (arcane) speech⁸ and parables; he studied everything.

Rabbi Simeon ben Menasiah⁹ used to say : A parable. To what may he be compared ? To a stonecutter who was sitting on a mountain side. They said to him : What are you doing here ? He answered : I am trying to uproot it. They said to him : Can you ? He answered : Yes. He began to chip away little stones and throw them into the Jordan. He saw a large stone and worked an iron pick under it and threw it into the Jordan. He saw another larger than the first one and worked an iron pick under it and threw it into the Jordan. He said : Let your place be the Jordan ; this is not your place,¹⁰ as Scripture says : "Man puts his hand to the flinty rock, and overturns mountains by the roots (Job 28:9)."

Rabbi Akiba reflected carefully and said : This Aleph, that Beth, why was it written. As Scripture says : "He cuts out channels in the rocks, and his eye sees every precious thing (Job 28:10)."¹¹ Rabbi

⁷ "Aggadah" is in Mss. H and N. It is missing from Ms. R. The curriculum is fixed as Scripture and its interpretative Aramaic translation; the threefold oral teaching—midrash, halaka and aggadah; and two other forms of learning (see the next note). Version A presents a more elaborate story of Akiba's learning process. See Chapter 13 for Eliezer's curriculum and notes 8, 9 and 10 there. Johanan ben Zakkai follows exactly the same curriculum in Ch. 28 (p. 57), n. 5. See Louis Finkelstein, "Midrash, Halakot and Aggadot," in the *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume* [in Hebrew], ed. S. W. Baron, S. Ettinger, *et al.* (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 28-47. See also A Ch. 28, end (p. 86; G p. 118) where a scholar's knowledge is characterized as Midrash, Halaka, Agada, and Tosephta.

⁸ "*shyn*" means dialogue, conversation, speech. In this passage it may be related to Sukkah 28a where Johanan ben Zakkai's studies are outlined in detail. Among the things he studied are listed various kinds of speech (*syhh*) : "the speech of ministering angels, the speech of spirits, and the speech of palm trees." These are unusual, "arcane" kinds of speech which Johanan learned to understand and perhaps they are what is meant here. See also BabBat 134a.

⁹ B records the story of the stonecutter in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Menasiah; A records it in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar. See ARNA and B pp. 5-6 (Ch. 1, n. 39) for the interchange of the names of these two men.

¹⁰ The text and expression are difficult. In ARNA this story of the stonecutter is applied explicitly to Akiba's learning process. B leads directly into Job 28:9-11 which refers midrashically to Akiba.

¹¹ Akiba's question about every "a" and "b" can be understood in two ways. It may refer to the reason why each letter is in the Scripture. (Akiba used each letter in his interpretation of Scripture.) This seems to be the sense of the parallel statement in Version A (p. 29; G p. 41 and n. 13). But here in Version B Job 28:10 is given and it contains the Biblical word *surut* which means rocks in the Bible and "physical form"

Eliezer said to him : Concerning you, Akiba, Scripture says : "He binds up the streams so that they do not trickle, and the thing that is hid he brings forth to light (Job 28:11)." Things that were concealed and hidden from human beings Rabbi Akiba brought forth into the light.¹²

When he was forty, he went to school. For forty years he studied everything.¹³ And for forty years he taught all Israel. He had twelve thousand pairs of students in synagogues and houses of study, sitting and studying, from Antipatris to Baniyas.¹⁴

p. 30 They said of him that he did not engage in a laborer's occupation from the time he began to study, but every day he gathered two bundles of wood ; he sold one in the market place¹⁵ and (used) one to keep warm by. His neighbors said to him : Akiba, you are killing us with smoke. Sell your bundle (of wood) and get oil with it. He answered : I am not going to listen to you ; I get two benefits from it. First, I keep warm by it and second, (the fire) gives me light.¹⁶

It was said that before he died, he slept on beds of gold and made a tiara of gold and sandals¹⁷ of gold for his wife. His sons said to him :

in Mishnaic Hebrew. Very probably, then, B is punning on this word and referring to the physical form of the letters as the basis for Akiba's question.

¹² Version A only quotes Job 28:11 and in the name of Rabbi Tarfon. Other sources quote this verse to show that what was not revealed to Moses on Sinai was revealed to Akiba ; see NumRab 19:6 ; TanBub, *Num.*, p. 117 ; PRK p. 72 ; PesRab 14:13 (Friedmann, 64b ; Braude p. 289) ; and also Men 29b.

¹³ This second period of forty years during which Akiba studied is introduced in Hebrew by *bn 'rb'im snh* ("when he was forty"). But the word *bn* must have intruded from the preceding sentence. We read just *'rb'im snh* ("for forty years").

Note the schematization of Akiba's life into the favorite period of forty years.

¹⁴ See Ch. 4, n. 5 for parallels and interpretation of the 12,000 pairs of disciples. Antipatris was in the south near Jabne and Baniyas was in the extreme north of the country. Baniyas in Hebrew is Panias. The Mss. read *pnyim* ("inside") but final *mem* could be easily confused for the final *s* of *pnys* (Panias). Felix Perles suggests this (*Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, p. 382). The other sources give other places in the north and all mention Antipatris in the south. Yeb 62b, BerRab 61:3 (T-A, p. 660) and QohRab 11:6 mention Gabbat (in Can). Perles points out that Gabbat is near Panias.

¹⁵ *trysyn* means shutters. But here it must mean "market place." Perhaps in the market place are shops with shutters. See Schechter, note 19. See also Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 593. Shab 35b refers to "shops still open and shutters lying." Perhaps the shutters were lying as stands for the display of goods.

¹⁶ Oil burning in a lamp would provide light, but no heat. The burning wood warmed Akiba but created a lot of smoke. Version A has Akiba burning straw, which is even more smoky than wood.

¹⁷ See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 519. *qurdaqyn* is from *scordisci* meaning sandals. The tiara of gold is perhaps the "Golden Jerusalem" mentioned in JerShab 6:1 (7d) and Shab 59b.

Look, people are making fun of us. He answered : I am not going to listen to you. She suffered along with me during my study of Torah.¹⁸

(In the future) a man will be asked : Why did you not study Torah in this world? If he answers : Because I was poor, (he will be told) Rabbi Akiba also was poor. Because I was rich. Rabbi Akiba also was rich. Because I was burdened with a large family. Rabbi Akiba also was burdened with a large family. Your ancestors laid up no merit in your behalf? Also Rabbi Akiba's ancestors' did not lay up merit for him. Because of this the Sages, blessed be their memory, said that Rabbi Akiba will shame many, (that is,) all who did not study Torah in this world.¹⁹

¹⁸ Akiba began studying when he was forty; his family had to undergo hardship while he studied (Finkelstein, *Akiba*, pp. 79-81). Here he shows appreciation for the sufferings his wife underwent (Finkelstein, *Akiba*, p. 135). See Ned 50a and Ket 62b-63a.

His sons' reason for complaining can only be conjectured. Probably, living in a patriarchal society, they felt slighted because a woman received so much more honor than they did. In ARNA Akiba's disciples are shamed by the honor showed his wife. (The concepts of son and disciple are rather close in this period.)

¹⁹ Akiba is a paradigm for all since he is the perfect example of a man devoted completely to the Torah despite many obstacles.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AND THIRSTILY IN THEIR WORDS. This means that whenever the words of Torah enter and find the chambers of the heart empty, they enter and dwell within and the evil impulse does not have authority over them and no one can expel them from inside himself. A parable. To what may they be likened? To a king who was walking along a road and found there unoccupied chambers and a dining hall.¹ He entered and dwelled within and no one could expel him. In the same way, whenever the words of Torah enter and find the chambers of the heart empty, they enter and dwell within and the evil impulse does not have authority over them and no one can expel them.²

Another interpretation. AND THIRSTILY DRINK IN THEIR WORDS. This story is told of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus,³ who wanted to study Torah. His father had many plowmen and he was plowing on rocky ground. He sat down and began to cry. His father said to him? Why are you crying? Perhaps you are sad because you are plowing on rocky ground. Tomorrow come and plow on furrowed ground.⁴ He sat on furrowed

¹ *trql* seems to be from the Greek *triklinon* and Latin *triclinium* meaning dining couches and dining room. Aruch, IV, pp. 95-96.

² The point of the parable is that a king (the words of Torah) is sovereign wherever he is and no force, internal (the man himself) or external (the evil impulse) can expel him. For parallel, see MidProv Ch. 24, end. This parable may be modelled on the travels of the Roman emperors in the East who commandeered nightly resting places (Ziegler, *Königsvergleichnisse*, p. 305).

³ Version A, Ch. 6 (pp. 28 ff.; G pp. 40 ff.) combines the lemma of the previous chapter (Sit in the dust) with the one in this chapter (Drink in their words) and then follows them with the stories of both Akiba and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Akiba's teacher.

The same broad story line is followed in both A and B in regard to Eliezer, but the working out of the sequence of events is so different that we have two relatively independent versions of the same tradition.

PRE Chs. 1-2 repeats the version of Eliezer's story found in ARNB. BerRab 41(42):1 (T-A, pp. 397-98) has a brief version of this story.

In both A and B Akiba and Eliezer are found together. Both were great teachers and often in conflict, with Eliezer taking the conservative position. The linking of their stories may be a way of encouraging unity. In addition, Akiba, the poor man, and Eliezer, the rich man, illustrate together the point that both rich and poor alike should dedicate themselves to study of the Torah. At the end of the previous chapter Akiba was presented as first poor and then rich. However, Akiba was generally characterized as poor and he and Eliezer back to back suggest the contrast of wealth and poverty.

⁴ Literally: "on or beside a furrow". This seems to mean plowing is regular soil

ground and cried.⁵ His father said to him : Why are you crying. He told him : Because I want to study Torah. He said to him : You are 28 years old, and you want to study Torah ? Go, instead, and take for yourself a wife and beget children and send them to school. He was sad for three weeks until Elijah appeared to him. He said to him : Get up and go to Ben Zakkai in Jerusalem. (He arrived in Jerusalem.)⁶ Hesat and began to cry. Ben Zakkai said to him : Whose son are you ? But he did not answer him.⁷ Why are you crying ? What do you want ? He answered : To study Torah. He said to him : Haven't you ever gone to school and studied the Shema and the Amidah and the Grace at Meals ? He answered : No. Ben Zakkai immediately taught him the three prayers.⁸ Then he asked him : What do you want to do, study Scripture or study Mishnah ?⁹ He answered : Study Mishnah. Ben Zakkai taught him two halakot each day of the week and on Sabbath Eliezer reviewed them and made them his own.¹⁰ He spent eight days without eating

where long, straight furrows can be easily made. Ms. R reads *m'rh* (cave) instead of *m'nh* (furrowed ground).

⁵ Presumably this occurs the next day. The whole story is characterized by Eliezer crying until someone asks him why and then helps him overcome the obstacle to studying Torah.

⁶ The sense of the story presumes that he indeed went to Jerusalem, though the text does not say this explicitly.

Note that Elijah tells him to go to Jerusalem, not to Jabne. This story is set before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). Note that Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai is not yet given his full title. He is called simply "Ben Zakkai."

⁷ Only below, when asked a second time, does Eliezer say whose son he is. His reticence seems to be a mark of humility.

⁸ In the previous chapter Akiba began his schooling by reading from a student's tablet with his son. Perhaps Eliezer already knew these basics. At any rate, Johanan is surprised that Eliezer has not learned the mandatory prayers and he immediately equips Eliezer to participate in them, before going on to what we would consider formal studies.

The Shema is the most characteristic prayer of Judaism and is said twice a day by the practicing Jew. It consists of three Scriptural passages (Dr. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Num. 15:37-41) and stresses the unity of God. The Amidah consists of eighteen blessings concerned with Israel and her relations with God and the nations. The Grace after Meals is recited in different forms, depending on how many men are present at the meal. All three are very early and have undergone a long evolution.

⁹ Study of Scripture in Hebrew is "to read" (*qr*) because Scripture was read from a scroll. Memorizing and understanding the oral law (Mishnah), which had not yet been written down, was called "studying" (*shn*). Akiba did both things (see the previous chapter and note 7 there). Study of the oral law really implies study of Scripture.

¹⁰ If the two halakot which Eliezer learned each day are at all comparable to our mishnayot, then he must have learned the meaning of each one thoroughly along with

anything, to the point where the bad odor of his mouth issued forth before Ben Zakkai and he expelled him from his presence. Eliezer sat down and began to cry.¹¹ Ben Zakkai said to him : Why are you crying ?

p. 31 He answered : Because you sent me away from you the way one sends away someone afflicted with sores. He said to him : Whose son are you ? Eliezer answered : The son of Hyrcanus. He said to him : You are a son of the nobles of the world and you did not inform me ? Today you will eat at my house. He said to him : I was already fed at my lodgings.¹² Rabban Johanan¹³ sent to his lodgings. He asked them : Did Eliezer eat with you today. They told him : No, he has not eaten for the last eight days. Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah and Rabbi Jose the Priest and Rabbi Simeon ben Nathan'el¹⁴ went and said to Rabban Johanan : He hasn't eaten for the last eight days. When Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai heard this, he stood up and tore his clothes.¹⁵ He said to him :

all the variant opinions and arguments (the equivalent of our Tosephta and Baraita). For the study of two halakot a day as a way of approaching the mass of halakic material, see LevRab 19:2 (Margulies, pp. 416-17) and also SifreDt 306 (Finkelstein, p. 339) and Mech to Ex 16:4 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 103-04).

Mdbqn (piel) means "to glue." It also means to make one travel with you (Jastrow, p. 277). In context it might mean that he attached what he learned tightly to himself. Ms. H reads *mbdqn* but *bdq* is never used in the piel, so this form is probably a metathesis. Schechter (p. 168) suggests, however, that *mbdqn* is original and means that Eliezer threaded together or attached the Torah, Prophets and Writings.

¹¹ From this sentence on, the dialogue between Eliezer and Johanan is very similar to their original meeting above when Eliezer said he wanted to study Torah. In fact, it appears that they are again meeting for the first time. Furthermore, in A p. 30 (G p. 43) Johanan and Eliezer first meet over the issue of the bad odor coming from his mouth and his not having eaten. Possibly two incidents have been combined into one story in B.

¹² Oddly enough Eliezer lies to Johanan and tells him that he has eaten when he has not. Perhaps he did not want to trouble him or was embarrassed. In A Eliezer refused to answer Johanan's question as to whether he had eaten. The idea seems to be the same in both versions—Eliezer does not want to mention his physical wants. 'kən'y (lodgings) should be 'ksny' from the Greek *xenia*. The last two letters have metathesized.

¹³ Now Ben Zakkai is called Rabban Johanan. See note 6 above. Perhaps this is further indication of two sources, as suggested in note 11.

¹⁴ This nexus is rough. Above it did say that Johanan *sent* to the inn to ask if Eliezer ate or not. Only here do we find out more specifically that he did send messengers and who they were and also that the intervening dialogue was not Johanan speaking directly but through messengers.

These three sages plus Eliezer and Eleazar ben Arak are the five disciples of Johanan mentioned in PA 2:8.

¹⁵ Johanan is very moved by Eliezer's deprivation. From context it is difficult to

Woe to you, Eliezer, that you were expelled from among us but I tell you¹⁶ that just as the bad odor of your mouth issued forth before me, the reaching of you mouth shall go forth from one end of the world to the other.¹⁷ I read concerning you : "And the name of the other, Eliezer... (Ex. 18:4)."¹⁸

The sons of Hyrcanus said to their father : Go and disinherit Eliezer.¹⁹ He went up to Jerusalem to disinherit him and found that Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai was celebrating a holiday and all of the nobles of the city were present there. They were Ben Sisit Hakkesef and Nakdimon ben Gorion and Ben Kalba Sabua'. Why was he called Ben Sisit Hakkesef. Because he used to recline at the head of all the great ones of the city.²⁰ It was told of Nakdimon ben Gorion that he had in

determine whether his reaction is directed to Eliezer's noble birth or at the simple fact that one of his students has gone hungry.

¹⁶ Ms. N has 'mr and Ms. H 'my 'mr, both of which are ungrammatical. Schechter corrects them.

¹⁷ As a matter of fact Eliezer finished his life excommunicated from the assembly at Jabne because he held on too strongly to the older conservative opinions which he had learned (BabMez 59b; JerMoedKat 3:1 (81d)). Though his views did not prevail, he was still a famous teacher and the most famous of Johanan's disciples.

¹⁸ Ex. 18:4 gives the name of Moses' second son, Eliezer. The use of *h'hd* ("the one; the other") in the verse suggests the meaning : "the singular one." Eliezer is praised as extraordinary.

¹⁹ The story of Eliezer's brilliance as a student expositor of Scripture begins the fulfillment of Johanan's prophecy of his fame.

The urging of Eliezer's brothers that he be disinherited motivates the father's attempt to disinherit them at the end of the story. Version A (p. 31; G p. 44) just has the statement at the end of the story that he will disinherit the brothers.

²⁰ Ben Sisit Hakkesef's name is usually recorded as Hakkeset (Git 56a; LamRab 1:5(31); QohRab 7:12; ARNA p. 31; BerRab 42:1 (T-A, p. 398). *keset* means cushion; *kesep* means silver; *šišit* means fringes (worn on the corners of a garment). The derivation given to his name here is not clear. The word silver (*kesep*) suggests the idea of pre-eminence. The idea of *reclining* above the great ones could come from cushion (*keset*). Both of these ideas seem to have been operative in the interpretation of the name espoused here.

ARNA p. 31 (G p. 44) has *keset* but its explanation of the name also presumes *kesep* (Goldin, Ch. 6, n. 26) : "(He was so called) because he used to recline on a silver couch at the head of all the great ones of Israel." *keset* suggests reclining; *kesep* is the silver (couch). Both terms are operative in this interpretation found in ARNA. Git 56a uses *šišit* and *keset* for its interpretation : "(He was so called) because his fringes [*zizith*] used to trail on cushions [*keseth*]." (Soncino, p. 256.) According to Finkelstein and Epstein, Sisit Hakkesef is the original text in A and in the Babylonian Talmud (*Mabo*, p. 135; see reference to Epstein there).

his house forty kors of gardens made of gold.²¹ It was told of Ben Kalba Sabua' that he had food enough for three years for each inhabitant of Jerusalem. When the Zealots rose²² and burned the storehouses in Jerusalem, they measured all that he had and found food enough for three years for each inhabitant of Jerusalem.²³

Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Simeon ben Nathan'el went and said to
 p. 32 Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai :²⁴ Rabbi Eliezer's²⁵ father has come. He said to them : Make a place for him. They made a place for him and seated him in the middle.²⁶ Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai said to Eliezer : Expound to us something from the teachings of the Torah. He answered : I will tell you a parable. What am I like ? I am like a well which cannot give forth more water than one put in it. Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai said to him : I will tell you a parable. To what can this man be likened ? To a well which bubbles up and produces water of itself. Similarly, you can expound more teachings of the Torah than were spoken to Moses on Sinai.²⁷ He spoke to him a second and a third

²¹ Nakdimon is here pictured as very wealthy—a fact supported by all the sources mentioned in the previous note. However, his wealth does not explain his name. Git 56a, ARNA pp. 31-32 (G pp. 44-45) and Taan 19b-20a connect his name with the clear shining of the sun (the verb *nqd*, matching the first three letters of his name) and the last two sources give the story connected to this (see also AZ 25a).

The kor is a measure of the produce derived from the land and so then a measure of the land itself. Mss. H and N add : "overlaid" with gold. The idea seems to be that he had a garden laid out over a large area and gold was used for decoration all through it. This is not certain, however. Gerald Friedlander, *Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer*, p. 6, n. 4 quotes the Ms. of Abraham Epstein of Vienna which reads "with roofs covered with gold."

²² The text reads '*md* singular, but the subject *sqrn* is plural. Perhaps a final *waw* dropped off of '*md*. '*md* is then followed by *srpw*.

²³ *Kalba Sabua'* in Aramaic means a satisfied dog. Consequently, the idea here is that he has enough food to satisfy people. Git 56a and ARNA p. 31 (G p. 45) say more directly that whoever entered his house hungry as a dog came out of it satisfied.

For the idea that Kalba Sabua (or all three of them) had enough food to see Jerusalem through the siege, see above, Chap. 7, n. 2. This last sentence in ARNB is a confirmation of the interpretation just given to Kalba's name.

²⁴ Again Joshua and Simeon function as messengers. See note 14 above.

²⁵ Now Eliezer is given the title Rabbi.

²⁶ In A Eliezer's father sits up front near the three rich men. Here he seems to be among the disciples.

²⁷ For the idea that Sages could bring out implications of the law not previously understood (and thus interpret more teaching than were spoken to Moses on Sinai), see the references in Ch. 12, n. 12 and also J. Goldin, "Of Change and Adaptation in Judaism," *Hist of Relig* 4 (1965), 269-94. Later Johanan characterizes Eliezer as Eliezer here characterizes himself. He calls Eliezer a plastered cistern which does not lose a drop (PA 2:8).

time and he would not assent to it. So, Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai went out and left. Then, Rabbi Eliezer sat and interpreted more teachings than were spoken to Moses on Sinai²⁸ and his face was radiant like the light of the sun and rays (of light) went forth from him like those that went forth from Moses and no one knew whether it was day or night.²⁹

Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Simeon ben Nathan'el went and said to Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai : Come and see Rabbi Eliezer. He is sitting and interpreting more teachings than were spoken to Moses on Sinai and his face is radiant like the light of the sun and rays (of light) are coming forth from him like those that went forth from Moses and no one knows whether it is day or night. Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai came up behind him and kissed him on the head and said : Blessed are you Abraham, Isaac and Jacob because this man has come from your loins. Rabbi Eliezer's father asked them : About whom are you saying this ? They said to him : About your son Eliezer. He said to them : Was this the proper way to speak (when you said :) Blessed are you Abraham, Isaac and Jacob because this man has come from your loins ? Should it not have been said rather that I am blessed, since he came from my loins.

While Rabbi Eliezer was sitting and interpreting his father was standing.³⁰ He said to him : Father, I cannot sit and interpret and expound the teachings of Torah while you are standing. He arose and seated him near him. His father said to him : My son, I did not come expecting this honor, but rather to disinherit you from my possessions, but now that I have come and seen and rejoiced in the study of your teaching, your brothers are disinherited from my possessions and they

²⁸ The bracketed portion in Schechter was skipped by a copyist through homoeoteuton.

Eliezer seems to have been ashamed to speak in the presence of his teacher, Johanan ben Zakkai. Once Johanan left, he could begin teaching. For his previous embarrassment, see note 12. Or he may also have been observing the law that a student may not teach, in his teacher's presence under penalty of death. See Erub 63a and Yoma 53a, for example.

²⁹ See Ex. 34:29-35. For the use of *grn* (horn, ray) in relation to this phenomenon, see ExRab 47:6.

³⁰ This story does not harmonize with the preceding for two reasons. First, we were specifically told that Eliezer's father was given a seat. Second, Eliezer had already interpreted for some time when Johanan returned to the hall. So this incident does not follow in smooth temporal sequence. It is rather a separate story about how Eliezer's father was impressed by him and did not disinherit him.

are given to you as a gift. He answered him : I swear (I am satisfied) to have an equal share with the others in your possessions.³¹ Then he said : If I sought from God silver and gold, he would have them to give to me, as Scripture says : "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, p. 33 says the Lord of hosts (Hag. 2:8)." If I had asked him real estate, he would have given it to me, as Scripture says : "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof... (Ps. 24:1)." I asked of him only that I might acquire Torah, as Scripture says : "Therefore I direct my steps by all your precepts ; I hate every false way (Ps. 119:128)."

³¹ See note 19 above. The disinheriting theme is more worked out here than in A. The expression *muṣl* plus a pronoun occurs on Schechter, p. 51 also and is an oath formula, literally, "May I be saved."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

JOSEPH BEN JOHANAN OF JERUSALEM SAYS : LET YOUR HOUSE BE OPENED WIDE, AND LET THE POOR BE MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD, AND TALK NOT OVERMUCH WITH WOMEN.¹

LET YOUR HOUSE BE OPENED WIDE, in the same way that Job's house was opened to the North and South, East and West, for Job used to say : From whatever direction a man comes, there let him enter², as Scripture says : "I have opened my doors to the wayfarer (Job 31:32)." Job began to say : I did not act as others. Others, they eat fine bread and feed the poor coarse bread. Others, they wear clothes of wool and dress the poor in clothes of sackcloth.³ I did not act in this way. Rather I fed the poor⁴ from what I was eating and I dressed the poor in what I was wearing, as Scripture says : "If his loins have not blessed me, and if he was not warmed with the fleece of my sheep... (Job 31:20)." From the wool which I sheared and wore I dressed the poor.⁵ Job began to

¹ PA 1:5 has the shortened form Jose, not Joseph. See Ch. 11, note 2.

"Open wide" in Hebrew is from the root *rwḥ* meaning "space, extension." The specific word used (*rwḥh*) means "relief". Both meanings are implied here. The doors are open wide and they are so in order to provide relief for the poor.

The last clause of the saying, "And talk not overmuch with women," is not in MS. R here. The clause is given at the beginning of the next chapter, where it is interpreted.

Joseph ben Johanan of Jerusalem was the second member of the first pair of leaders who followed Simeon the Righteous and Antigonus in the first part of the second century B.C.

² Comparable generosity and a house with four doors are attributed to R. Huna in Ber 58b.

³ For "sackcloth" found in Ms. R the other Mss. offer variants. H has *bwr* (an uncultured person?); P has *bwd* (Schechter, p. 168); and N has *bwdy*, both from the root *bdd* meaning dirty (Aruch, II, p. 16b). See Schechter, note. Dalet and resh are easily mixed up so either Ms. R or Mss. P and H could be correct.

⁴ Mss. P, N and H read "the poor". Ms R has "others". We follow Mss. P. and H and Schechter in reading "the poor" again in this sentence and in the following.

⁵ Job begins to sound excessive in his praise of himself, and he is soon rebuked for it. For another rebuke, similar to excessive self praise, see the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican in the Gospel according to Luke, 18:9-14.

Above this incident began with "Job began to say." The next sentence begins "Job began to praise himself." We seem to have two discreet units, so similar in theme that they are here joined. In the first incident Job details what he does for the poor. In the second he compares himself very favorably with Abraham and is rebuked by God for this. These two complementary parts of the story of Job function as a unit here, but they

praise himself, saying : What did Abraham our father do that I did not do ? God said to Job :⁶ How far will you go on in self-praise ? If the poor did not come into your house, you did not pity them, but Abraham did not act in this way. Rather, on the third day (after his circumcision) he went and sat at the door of his tent, as Scripture says : “As he sat at the door of his tent in the heat of the day (Gen. 18:1).”⁷

AND LET THE POOR BE MEMBERS OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD.⁸ Not actually poor. Rather, when one is humble and his wife is humble, and his sons and the members of his household are humble, then even the dogs do no harm.⁹ But when he is arrogant,¹⁰ they all cause harm.

Everyone whose wife is humble leaves home cheerful and his heart is confident of her. When he comes back to his home, he finds peace within it. Everyone whose wife is quarrelsome leaves home uneasy.
 p. 34 When he comes (back) he finds quarreling within his house. When someone's wife is quarrelsome (and) a person comes to ask for him, he says to her : Is the master here ? She says to him : No. She rebukes him in anger.¹¹ But when one's wife is humble (and) a person comes to

may have been originally distinct. In Version A (pp. 33-34; G p. 47) the same themes are worked into a single story, somewhat different and more tightly integrated. The story occurs in A as an interpretation of the second clause of Joseph's saying : Let the poor be members of your household.

⁶ Ms. H has : “They said to him,” and N has : “The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him.” But the former is a misreading and the latter an interpretation (perhaps influenced by A p. 34 which has “The Holy One, blessed be He”). Ms. R with “He (God) said to him” is original.

⁷ In Gen. 17 Abraham circumcises his household. Immediately after that, in Ch. 18:1 he is finishing the recuperation period when three angels come to his tent in disguise and he offers them hospitality. Abraham's sitting at the door to his tent is interpreted as an active searching for people to share his food and shelter with. Version A expands the interpretation of this verse (pp. 33-34; G p. 47).

⁸ In the original mishnah “members of your household” (*bnay bytk*) means “slaves”—see E. Z. Melamed, “Lilshonah shel Masseket 'abot.” *Leshonenu* 20 (1956), 110-11.

⁹ The Hebrew words for “poor” and “humble” come from the same root (*'nw*). Hence, poor is here interpreted as humble. This humility is the key to domestic happiness and the source of charity to the poor. See also A pp. 34-35 (G p. 48).

Dogs are disliked and feared in the Middle East even today. For the low position of the dog in Islam, see the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, II, pp. 687-88, “Kalb” (eds. M. Th. Houtsma, et al., Leiden and London, 1927). For a prohibition against dangerous dogs and a miscarriage cause by a dog's bark, see Shab 63b.

¹⁰ “Arrogant” is *miḥyyb*, which basically means to be convicted or responsible. Here it must mean the opposite of humble, hence its translation.

¹¹ *z'p bnzyph* : see S. Lieberman, “*Seš Millim Miqqohelet Rabbah*” in G. Alon Memorial Volume *Essays in Jewish History and Philology* (Jerusalem, 1970) [in Hebrew], pp. 230-31.

ask for him,¹² he says to her : Is the master here ? She says to him : Yes, he is now eating. He enters. The man gives the visitor a piece of bread and a cup of wine. He says the blessing over them and eats. Of such Scripture says : "Is it not to share your bread with hungry and bring the homeless poor into your house (Is. 58:7)."¹³

Why is he poor ? Because he revolted against the words of God.¹⁴

Another interpretation. "Homeless poor (Is. 58:7)." These are homeowners who lost their property ; you are to bring them into your house.¹⁵

Another interpretation. "Homeless poor." These are grieved mourners ; you are to bring them into your house.¹⁶

Another interpretation. "Homeless poor." These are sages and their disciples who teach Israel the difference between unclean and clean and what is forbidden and permitted—they you are to bring into your house.¹⁷

But everyone who before God does not give a piece of bread to a poor man, brings upon himself many curses, as Scripture says : "Appoint a wicked man against him ; let an accuser bring him to trial. When he is tried, let him come forth guilty ; let his prayer be counted as sin ! May his days be few ; may another seize his goods ! May his

¹² Read *lūb'w* with Ms. P. (Schechter, p. 168). *lms'w* in Ms. R is very unclear in meaning (Schechter, n. 14).

¹³ In the Isaiah quote, "it" is real fasting which is acceptable to God.

The story of the two kinds of wives complements the previous paragraph. The final verse from Isaiah seems to have been added to shift the focus from *'nwh* meaning humble to *'nwh* meaning poor, the main theme of this chapter. The story itself contains no suggestion that the guest was poor, but only that he wanted to visit the woman's husband.

¹⁴ This and the following three paragraphs are interpretations of the word "homeless" (*mrwdym*) in Is. 58:7. The word is from the root *rwd* (BDB, p. 924) and means wandering, restless, homeless. First the interpreter offers a play on words between *mrwdym* and *mrd* ("he revolted").

¹⁵ The word "homeless" (*mrwdym*) suggests the phrase "lost (*yrdu*) their property." In the two revolts in C.E. 66 and 132 and all the other turbulence and taxes of the second and third centuries, many lost their property.

¹⁶ This interpretation plays on the similarity between *mrwdym* and *mry nps* ("grieved").

¹⁷ We may have here a play on *mrwdym* and *mrwym* ("teachers"). This is a plea to support indigent and wandering scholars, part of the general increase in reverence for study of Torah encouraged during the second century. See above Ch. 11 (p. 28). The New Testament witnesses to the idea that those who give religious instruction and guidance should be supported (Luke 10:7 ; 1 Cor. 9:6-14 ; Gal. 6:6 ; 2 Thes. 3:9).

children be fatherless, and his wife a widow ! May his children wander about and beg ; may they seek from their ruins (Ps. 109:6-10) !” And the rest of this section to “He loved to curse ; let curses come on him ! He did not like blessing ; may it be far from him ! He clothed himself with cursing as his coat, may it soak into his body like water, like oil into his bones ! May it be like a garment which he wraps round him, like a belt with which he daily girds himself (Ps. 109:17-19) !”¹⁸

What brought all these curses on him ? He did not give a piece of bread to a poor man. But God brings many blessings upon the man who gives a piece of bread to a poor man, as Scripture says : “Then shall your light break forth like the dawn, and your healing shall spring up speedily ; your righteousness shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard (Is. 58:8).” “And the Lord will guide you continually, and satisfy your desire with good things, and make your bones strong ; and you shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. And your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt ; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations ; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of streets to dwell in. If you turn back your foot from the sabbath, from doing your pleasure on my holy day, and call the sabbath a delight and the holy day of the Lord honorable ; if you honor it, not going your own ways, or seeking your own pleasure, or talking idly ; then you shall take delight in the Lord, and I will make you ride upon the heights of the earth ; I will feed you with the heritage of Jacob your father, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken (Is. 58:11-14).” By what merit did he bring in himself all these blessings ? Because he gave a piece of bread to a poor man.¹⁹

¹⁸ In Ps. 109 the psalmist is asking for protection against his enemies who slander him. Here the Psalm becomes part of a strong and eloquent plea for generosity to the poor, probably reflecting desperate conditions in Palestine. Famine constantly occurred in the third century C. E. (see Avi-Yonah, *Geschichte*, Ch. 4).

¹⁹ This section of blessings merited by the man who helps the poor contains unusually extensive Scriptural quotations. Note that the first passage used comes from Is. 58, the source of the term “homeless poor” and an exhortation to genuine piety. The same kinds of introductory phrases bind the interpretations of Is. 58:7 and the curses and blessings.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

TALK NOT OVERMUCH WITH WOMEN.¹ A parable. A man goes to the study house and they appoint him head.² If he said : I was head in the study house,³ then if he was a learned man, he ends up neglecting his work which is his learning ; if a worker, he ends up neglecting his work ; if he was a student of Torah,⁴ he ends up neglecting his study.⁵ One

¹ For the addition to this last clause found in PA and ARNA, see PA 1:5 and ARNA p. 35 (G p. 48). Both additions mention neglect of the study of Torah, a theme which occurs here, immediately below.

² The final clause is found in Mss. H and P and in N, but not in Ms. R.

³ This position, head of the study house, is unknown. The text does not make clear whether the man was chosen for just one day or for a longer period ; how he was chosen ; or what his duties were.

⁴ Schechter says "Student of Torah" (*ben Torah*) is not a common expression (see nn. 2 and 4). But this seems incorrect ; its plural is used in Shab 139b where it means men learned in the law ; in LevRab 19:3 (Margulies, p. 423) where it means those devoted to the law ; and in ExRab 25:8 where it means those who instruct others in what is allowed and forbidden.

⁵ If the man who was head in the study house for a session or period spends time talking about it (perhaps boasting to his wife ?), he is neglecting worthwhile activity, depending on his station in life. Note two things ; first, this paragraph does not explicitly mention talking too much with women. Second, great stress is laid on detracting from study time. For this theme further developed, see the following sentence in the text.

Mss. H and P and N have more extensive texts with the two settings, the study house and the banquet hall (eating and drinking), joined together and applied to the problem of talking with one's wife. Ms. H, the most extensive text, reads : "A parable. A man goes to the study house and they appoint him head in the study house. And likewise, if they make him head in the banquet hall—(this saying means) that he should not go home to boast and say to his wife : I was head at the study house ; I was head at the banquet hall. If he was a learned man, he ends up neglecting his study, and one who eats and drinks outside of the regular time is not a student of Torah." The ending seems to have two points : the talking leads the man to neglect study and the being head at the banquet hall will lead him to spend too much time there ; but these points are only roughly joined and imperfectly harmonized.

The general point of R and of H is clear : distractions from the study of Torah are to be avoided. Neither version fits together smoothly. The version in H has the advantage of referring to the man's wife explicitly and so it is relevant to the lemma : "Talk not overmuch with women." But the wife is only tangential to the whole parable and especially to its conclusion. R could implicitly refer to boasting to one's wife or it could be a general stricture against too much talking. ARNB often leaves the original point of the lemma in the very first interpretation and goes off to make its own point. Yet R

who eats or drinks outside of the regular time is not a student of Torah.

Another interpretation. If you toiled at Torah in this world, you
 p. 35 have a great reward in the next world. If you did not toil at Torah in
 this world, you have no reward in the next world, as Scripture says :
 "And since you have forgotten the Torah of your God, I also will
 forget your children (Hos. 4:6)."⁶

Another interpretation. TALK NOT OVERMUCH WITH WOMEN. How
 does he disgrace his wife (by talking too much with her)? Something
 happened between him and his friend; he spoke of it in his house.
 His wife heard (of it) from him and went out into the marketplace.
 She met the wife of his friend and said to her: This is what your
 husband was doing. In such and such a way he angered my husband
 and in this and that way he shamed him. The women began to argue
 about these things and get each other angry and call each other liars.
 Those passing by began to argue with them about it. How did he
 disgrace his wife? He talked overmuch with her.⁷

Another interpretation. TALK NOT OVERMUCH WITH WOMEN. How
 does he disgrace himself (by doing this)? During the first week she came
 to him.⁸ (Later,) when she would hear the sound of him entering the
 courtyard, she would withdraw into the dining room and from the
 dining room to the inner room and from the inner room to the upper
 chamber.⁹ He would go in after her, she would uncover her head in his
 presence,¹⁰ and he would talk overmuch. What brought him to disgrace
 himself? He talked overmuch with her.

leaves out the key clause: "they appoint him head." Also R is too concise to be clear.

I suspect that originally there were two stories: first, that of a man boasting about
 being appointed head in the study house with the result that he neglects his work. (The
 wife may be implied in the story or may have been added to fit this context.) Second,
 that of a man who was made head in the banquet hall and so wasted time eating and
 drinking too much. But this is speculation and we have no direct textual witness to the
 original forms of these stories.

⁶ For similar sentiments see Ch. 33 (p. 73), end. This paragraph does not interpret
 the lemma as recorded here, but the theme of study of Torah. See note 1 for the presence
 of this theme in the saying itself.

⁷ See A p. 35 (G pp. 48-49).

⁸ As it stands the story is truncated and unclear. It seems to refer to the seduction
 of a man beginning with prolonged conversation with a woman. The first meeting she
 goes to him. Then she leads him on subsequent occasions into more intimate settings.

⁹ I follow Ms. N which has a better sequence of rooms. Ms. R has them go from an
 inner room to the dining room, a less likely order.

¹⁰ A woman's uncovering of her hair was considered a rather intimate act with

Another interpretation. TALK NOT OVERMUCH WITH WOMEN. Even with one's own wife, not to speak of the wife of a friend.¹¹ For so we find in the case of Samson. What brought disaster on him? He talked overmuch with her.¹²

sexual overtones. It was a disgrace for a woman to be caught with her hair uncovered. See Ch. 9, note 8.

¹¹ This is really an expansion of the saying in PA 1:5. See Albeck, IV, p. 354 and ARNA p. 35 (G p. 48).

¹² Samson talked too much with Delilah, Jug, 14-16.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

RABBI JOSHUA BEN PERAHYAH AND NITTAI THE ARBELITE TOOK OVER FROM THEM.¹ RABBI JOSHUA BEN PERAHYAH SAYS :² FLEE FROM AN EVIL NEIGHBOR, DO NOT ASSOCIATE WITH THE WICKED, AND DO NOT SHRUG OFF ALL THOUGHT OF CALAMITY.³

FLEE FROM AN EVIL NEIGHBOR.⁴ This means that when plagues come into the house of a wicked man, they undermine the wall of a just man. What made the wall of the just man collapse ? The transgressions of the wicked man brought it about.⁵

p. 36 Another interpretation. FLEE FROM AN EVIL NEIGHBOR. This is a reference to the neighborhood of Korah, as Scripture says : "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men (Num. 16:26)."⁶

Rabbi Simeon says : Plagues only come because of slander, and

¹ Ms. R and Schechter's edition omit this first sentence, but Ms. P (Schechter, p. 169) has it. It dropped out through homoeoteleuton between the two mentions of Joshua's name.

² Joshua and Nittai were the second pair and flourished during the second half of the second century, B.C. Joshua had to flee to Alexandria to escape John Hyrcanus (Weiss, *Dor*, I, p. 133). See PA 1:6 and ARNA p. 35 (G p. 49).

³ The sayings of Joshua and Nittai have been switched in B (as compared to PA and ARNA). This switch suggests a possible disturbance in the text in Version B. Similarly, the sayings of the next pair are switched, in Ch. 20 (p. 42) below.

⁴ Mss. R and P begin the interpretation of Joshua's saying with "Another interpretation," Mss. H and N omit it. This confusion at the beginning of the first interpretation may be due to a scribal error or it may be a sign that the first interpretation was transferred here from a context where it was a second or later interpretation and thus brought with it the introductory phrase, "Another interpretation."

⁵ In Hebrew plague is *ng'*; leprosy is *ng' gr't*. These two are identified in this interpretation. We are told here that the transgressions of the wicked neighbor bring a plague upon his house. Leviticus explains how if leprosy (the plague) affects a wall, the wall must be torn down, even if the wall is common to two houses (Lev. 14:33-45; A p. 38 [G p. 53]). According to the reasoning of this interpretation, the man who owns the afflicted house must be wicked and a transgressor; he causes his good neighbor's wall to be torn down, too. From this passage, Neg 12:6 and A p. 39 (G p. 54) derive a similar saying : Woe to the wicked and woe to his neighbor.

⁶ All Israel is told to get away from the rebellious Korah so that they will not be destroyed with him. The saying : "Woe to the wicked and woe to his neighbor" (see the previous note) is derived from Num. 16:1, where Korah's neighbors Dathan and Abiram are mentioned (NumRab 18:5).

leprosy only comes because of haughtiness,⁷ as Scripture says : "But when he [King Uzziah] was strong he grew proud, to his destruction. For he was false to the Lord his God, and entered the temple of the Lord to burn incense on the altar of incense. But Azariah the priest went in after him, with eighty priests of the Lord who were men of valor; and they withstood King Uzziah, and said to him, 'It is not for you, Uzziah, to burn incense to the Lord, but for the priests the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated to burn incense. Go out of the sanctuary; for you have done wrong, and it will bring you no honor from the Lord God.' Then Uzziah was angry. Now he had a censer in his hand to burn incense, and when he became angry with the priests, leprosy broke out on his forehead, in the presence of the priests in the house of the Lord, by the altar of incense. And Azariah the chief priests, and all the priests, looked at him, and behold, he was leprous

⁷ The causes of leprosy are a recurring theme in rabbinic literature. Here Rabbi Simeon distinguishes plagues (*ng'm*) and leprosy (*gr't*) and specifies the transgressions which cause them. Then the story of Uzziah is told as an example of haughtiness causing leprosy. The Hebrew term for haughtiness (*gbh ruh*) is taken from 2 Chr. 26:16. Ms. H has *gsy hrwh*, a term similar to the one which occurs in the sources mentioned below. Ms. P : *gbhy ruh*; Ms. N : *gbhut hrwh*. Slander causes plagues. See also LevRab 18:4 (Margulies, p. 409).

ARNA has two passages similar to this one : p. 39 (G p. 54) and p. 41 (G pp. 56-57). In the first Rabbi Simeon says that plagues come from slander and adduces the example of Miriam and Aaron in Num. 12. In the second Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says the same and then adduces the example of Gehazi *lying* and contracting Naaman's leprosy (2 Ki. 5:27). Rabbi Simeon then says that plagues come upon the haughty and adduces the example of Uzziah.

Slander is said to cause leprosy and the example of Miriam and Aaron is adduced in ARNB p. 116 (end of Ch. 41) and in SifreDt 275 (Finkelstein, p. 294).

Rabbi Simeon is usually Rabbi Simeon ben Johai, a member of the third generation of Tannaim and a pupil of Akiba. But if A's final attribution is accurate, Rabbi Simeon is ben Eleazar, of the fourth generation (end of the second century), a pupil of Meir and contemporary of Rabbi.

Several rabbinic passages give the reasons for which leprosy comes. LevRab 17:3 (Margulies, p. 374ff) gives ten reasons, among them haughtiness (*gsy hrwh*) with Uzziah as example and slander (*l'wn hr'*) with Aaron and Miriam as example. Arakin 16a gives seven reasons including haughtiness (*gsut hrwh*) with Uzziah as example and slander followed by the quoting of Ps. 101:5. In NumRab 7:5 eleven reasons are given. Haughtiness (*gsut hrwh*) is one, but Naaman (2 Ki. 5:1) is the example. Uzziah is connected with the sin of encroaching on another's domain (that is, unauthorized entry into the temple). Uzziah occurs under the same heading in Tan, *Mesora'*, 4 and TanBub, *Lev.*, pp. 48-49 where eleven things are again given. Haughtiness does not occur, but slander is given with the example of Miriam and Aaron.

in his forehead! And they thrust him out quickly, and he himself hastened to go out, because the Lord had smitten him. And King Uzziah was a leper to the day of his death... (2 Chr. 26:16-21)." And Uzziah the king (lived) twenty-five years (as a leper).⁸

AND DO NOT ASSOCIATE WITH THE WICKED. Because everyone who associates with the wicked in the end carries away some little bit from him,⁹ as Scripture says: "Now a word was brought to me stealthily, my ear received the whisper of it (Job 4:12)." ¹⁰

Another interpretation. DO NOT ASSOCIATE WITH THE WICKED. This refers to the evil impulse which sits at the opening of the heart.¹¹ When a man wants to transgress, the evil impulse bends all the man's limbs over which it is king,¹² as Scripture says: "The profit of the earth is in all things; a king makes himself servant to the field (Qoh. 5:8)."¹³ The good impulse is like someone locked up in prison.¹⁴

⁸ Seder Olam Rabba 19, end, like ARNB, says that Uzziah lived for twenty-five years after contracting leprosy. TosSot 12:4 says that Jotham, his son, judged Israel all the years he had leprosy (that is, Jotham was co-regent).

For the years of Uzziah and Jotham see 2 Chr. 26-27 and 2 Ki 15. He was twenty-five when he began to reign (2 Ki. 15:33). Why ARNB and Seder Olam say Uzziah was twenty-five years leprosy is not clear. Perhaps they connected this with Jotham's birth (for he was twenty-five at Uzziah's death). See Schechter, n. 6, who says it is a digression. Actually, the sentence at least shows how severe the penalty is for being haughty.

⁹ *ḏbr mw'ṭ*: this means something slight or lesser; some little bit or slight impact. This troublesome expression also occurs on p. 116 at the end of Ch. 41 in a context similar to the previous paragraph, but there it seems to be out of place. Perhaps there it means "some slight (punishment)" and is contrasted to leprosy.

¹⁰ The Hebrew "*dabar*" is translated "word" in Job and "(little) bit" in the comment immediately above. In Job the *dabar* is something bad because it is connected to the verb "bring stealthily" (*ygnb*). In Sanh 89b and Tan, *Wayyera*, 22, this verse is used of Satan when he tempts Abraham. In just takes a little bit to trap a man.

¹¹ Several statements about the good and bad impulse are mixed together in the, following passage. For a parallel to the evil impulse crouched at the opening of the heart see A p. 63 (G p. 84). In Sanh 91b the verse "Sin lies at the door (Gen. 4:7)," is used to prove that the evil impulse enters man at birth. See also Ch. 30 (p. 63) and note 3 there.

¹² See ARNA p. 63 top (G p. 83). The evil impulse is often presented as king. See note 16 below.

¹³ The connection between Qoh. 5:8 and the preceding comment is unclear. Both contain the word king. Qoh. 5:8 itself is difficult to understand and interpret. The first half of the verse is interpreted to mean that things which seem superfluous are actually useful and necessary (LevRab 22:1 [Margulies, pp. 494-95] and QohRab 5:8). But its relevance here is obscure. The following verse, Qoh. 5:9, refers to insatiable desire. Could it be implied in this context?

¹⁴ The good impulse is also like a captive in A p. 63 top (G p. 83). The exact implications of this statement are not developed. The good impulse, like the bad, exerts influence over a man's members.

When a man wants to carry out a commandment the good impulse turns all the man's limbs to do the will of their father who is in heaven so that they will be found pleasing to their father.¹⁵ Concerning the impulses Scripture says: "Better is a poor and wise youth (Qoh. 4:13)." This is the good impulse. "Than an old and foolish king (Qoh. 4:13)." This is the evil impulse.¹⁶

Another interpretation.¹⁷ "Better is a poor and wise youth." This is Joseph. "Than an old and foolish king." This is Pharaoh. "For he went from prison to the throne (Qoh. 4:14)." This is Joseph. "For also in his kingdom poverty was born (Qoh. 4:14)." This refers to the seven years of famine which took place in Egypt.

Another interpretation. DO NOT ASSOCIATE WITH THE WICKED. This refers to Jonadab, the son of Shimeah, David's brother, who was called clever, as Scripture says: "And Johadab was a very clever man (2 Sam 13:3)."—to cause evil, not to cause good.¹⁸ Rabbi says: It would have better for him to be called stupid and not clever.

¹⁵ Ms. N has here "who is in heaven," which I have included. The idea seems to be that the good impulse convinces the limbs and organs of the body to do God's will. Ms. N is clearer by having the good impulse *say* to the body: Come and obey. ... Previously we saw the evil impulse bending (*kpp*) the limbs to obey.

Up to this point we have two parallel pairs of statements: the evil impulse crouches at the opening of the heart and the good impulse is imprisoned. The evil impulse forces the body and the good impulse goes about convincing it.

¹⁶ For an exact parallel, see SedEIRab Ch. 31 (p. 160). See also QohRab 4:13 and MidPs 9:5 (Braude, I, p. 135). The evil impulse is called a king because it rules like one and an old king because it comes to a man at birth, while the good impulse comes only at age 13 (ARNA p. 63 top [G p. 83]; QohRab 4:13 and 9:15; MidPs 9:5 (Braude, I, p. 135); Ned 32b; TanBub, *Gen.*, pp. 203-04).

¹⁷ The midrash on Qoh. 4 continues with an interpretation of verses 13 and 14. See A p. 63 top (G p. 83). The last part of verse 14 is usually translated "he was born poor," but here is interpreted slightly differently.

¹⁸ Jonadab was David's nephew who advised Ammon, David's son, to commit incest with David's daughter, Tamar. He gave evil counsel and Ammon listened. See A p. 42 (G p. 57); Mech, *Yitro*, beginning (Lauterbach, II, p. 165); MechRS 18:1 (p. 128). Finkelstein deals with these parallel passages in *Mabo*, pp. 19-21. Rabbi, in the following comment, is bothered by the Hebrew word "*hkm*" which means "wise", but also "crafty, clever, subtle." See Sanh 21a also.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

p. 37 AND DO NOT SHRUG OFF ALL THOUGHT OF CALAMITY,¹ because one who does (not) shrug off all thought of calamity constantly fears it,² as Scripture says : "Blessed is the man who fears the Lord always (Prov. 28:14)." You find that this was the case³ with Job, that he was afflicted with that which he feared. He feared skin sores and he was afflicted with them, as Scripture says : "For the thing that I fear comes upon me, and what I dread befalls me. I am not at ease, nor am I quiet; I have no rest; but trouble comes (Job 3:25-26)."⁴

¹ This clause of Joshua ben Perahyah's saying is difficult to translate. In ARNA Goldin (p. 58) translates it : "And do not lose hope of the final reckoning." But in his translation of PA, p. 60, he translates it as we have here. Taylor, I, translates it : "And grow not thoughtless of retribution." Danby has : "And lose not belief in retribution." All these are possible, but the one adopted seems to fit the first paragraph as a whole better.

² The interpretation, as it stands, demands a negative so that it does not contradict Prov. 28:14, which is introduced as a proof verse. (See Schechter, note 1). And yet, even then, the comment does not run smoothly or make its point strongly. I suspect some confusion in the text.

Another translation of the original lemma is possible, but it does not produce satisfactory sense, either. It is "because one who loses hope of the final reckoning constantly fears for himself." This would imply that a man is suffering reverses in his life and so is afraid that he will be overwhelmed by evil. For this man, belief in the final reckoning would give him hope that the reverses he was suffering would be redressed in the end. This interpretation does not demand an emendation (insertion of "not") but it contradicts the point of Prov. 28:14.

A further difficulty arises in the following comment, which also seems contradictory, even though introduced as further proof.

³ The opening formula of this comment, "You find that this was the case", is used when an additional example is being offered as further proof of the original statement. And yet the comment which follows does not support the original comment. The original comment says that we should keep in mind the possibility of calamity, or in the words of the Scriptural verse, fear the Lord. But this comment suggests just the opposite : we should not fear because that which we fear might happen to us. Of course, these two statements are not totally contradictory, but they do have opposing emphases and do not belong side by side. Ms. N skips this second comment.

⁴ This verse from Job is used to urge is *not* to fear. In ARNA p. 42 (G p. 58) it is used to urge us to keep in mind the possibility of calamity, even when we are in prosperity.

In Ber 60a both Job 3:25 and Prov. 28:14 occur with a consistent theme. Job 3:25 proves that if a man fears something, he will certainly suffer from it—this is the point

Another interpretation. DO NOT LOSE HOPE OF THE FINAL RECKONING.⁵ This refers to Jehoiachin, King of Judah, who was jailed and forgotten for thirty-seven years,⁶ as Scripture says : "And in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, graciously freed Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison... (2 Ki. 25:27)."

In one place Scripture says : "On the twenty-fifth of the month... (Jer. 52:31)." And in another it says : "On the twenty-seventh of the month... (2 Ki. 25:27)," The reason for this is that when the twenty-fifth came, the adversary⁷ of Jehoiachin, King of Judah, died and on the twenty-sixth he was buried. On the twenty-seventh Evil-merodach entered the prison and found kings imprisoned there.⁸ He said to his courtiers : What is their crime ? They told him : They are here because they revolted against the decrees of the king. And this one, why is he imprisoned ? They told him : For no reason.⁹ He said to them : It appears to me that my father was a fool. He imprisoned one who rebelled against him along with one who did not rebel against him. Is it not the custom of kings to sit on their dais with the other kings sitting on their right and left ?¹⁰ He decided to exhume (his father's

of our passage here in B. Then Prov 28:14 is used to prove that, as a consequence, a man should fear only God.

Elements of both viewpoints, that found in ARNA and that found in Ber 60a, are found in Version B, joined together inconsistently. Possibly some editor knew both interpretations and in some way changed or added the passage. Schechter, note 3, suggests that the Job passage was added. This is possible, but even then there are difficulties with the first interpretation (that using Prov. 28:14).

⁵ This different translation of the lemma fits the interpretation following it better than the one adopted above. Emphasis is on the final justification of Jehoiachin after thirty-seven years.

⁶ Jehoiachin's accession to the throne, defeat and exile are recounted in 2 Ki. 24:6 ff. He was exiled in B.C.E. 598/7 and freed in 562/1.

⁷ Ms. R reads *qtnw*. Ms. P reads better : *stnw* (Ms. H. *stnw*), which here means "enemy, adversary." Nebuchadnezzar was the adversary of Jehoiachin. See Sed01Rab, Ch. 28 (Ratner, p. 125).

⁸ Note how a (seeming) contradiction in Scripture is dealt with.

⁹ Kings generally pardoned political prisoners at accession to the throne to win good will and because these men were usually no particular threat to them as they had been to the previous king.

Note the very positive evaluation given to Jehoiachin. This is clearly Jewish apologetic in his favor.

¹⁰ Those who ruled empires often kept captive and client kings in their court as signs of power and as a control on the conquered countries.

body), so he had it brought forth and dragged. He said : A king cannot abolish the decree of a (former) king without bringing out his body and dragging it,¹¹ as Scripture says : "All the kings of the nations lie in glory, each in his own tomb ; but you are cast out, away from your sepulchre, like a loathed branch, clothed with the slain, those pierced by the sword, who go down to the stones of the Pit, like a dead body trodden under foot. You will not be joined with them in burial, because you have destroyed your land, you have slain your people (Is. 14:18-20)."

p. 38 Let him¹² who is enjoying good fortune not shrug off all thought of calamity. This refers to Zedekiah, King of Judah. And let him who is in the midst of calamity not despair of good fortune. This refers to Jehoiachin, King of Judah, as Scripture says : "And he (Evil-merodach) spoke good things to him... (2 Ki. 25:28)." What were the good things that he spoke to him about ? He said to him : Do not be afraid, for a commoner did not imprison you, but a king like yourself. Just as my father treated you foully, I also have treated him foully. I brought out his body and dragged it.¹³ Evil-merodach removed his (Jehoiachin's) prison garments from him and clothed him in royal garments, as Scripture says : "So Jehoiachin put off his prison garments... (2 Ki. 25:30)." But is it possible that Jehoiachin ate with him or drank with him ? No. This verse teaches you that he had a yearly allowance from the government,¹⁴ for it says : "And for his allowance, a regular allowance was given him... (2 Ki. 25:30)."

¹¹ Sed01Rab 28 (Ratner, p. 125). See *Legends*, VI, p. 428, n. 116 and Saul Lieberman, "Some Aspects of After Life in Early Rabbinic Literature," in *Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, English, Part 2 (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 507-08. The dragging of the body (*grr*) was an official act of dishonor to the memory of the dead king and also a clear break with his policy. The unchangeable laws of the Persians are known from Dan. 6:9 and 13; Est. 1:19 and 8:8.

¹² This is a separate interpretation of the lemma. It presumes the translation : "Do not shrug off all thought of calamity," for its first half; and for its second half : "Do not lose hope of the final reckoning." Some of the material in the previous section is repeated.

¹³ See note 11 above. This second interpretation containing Jehoiachin, Evil-merodach and the dragging of his father is similar to the previous one. The idea must be a favorite.

¹⁴ A Jewish king is faced with the unique problem that he cannot eat the unkosher food of his captor. This problem is solved by the allowance given to Jehoiachin by the government. The word for allowance in Ms. R is *sldyh*, which in its best form is *slryn*, from the Greek *salarion* (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 397).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

NITTAI THE ARBELITE SAYS :¹ PROVIDE YOURSELF WITH A TEACHER FOR WISDOM, AND GET YOURSELF A COMPANION FOR MISHNAH AND JUDGE EVERYONE WITH THE SCALE WEIGHTED IN HIS FAVOR.²

p. 39 PROVIDE YOURSELF WITH A TEACHER FOR WISDOM. A man is obliged to provide for himself a teacher for wisdom so that he can learn from him Midrash, Halaka and Aggadah,³ as Scripture says : "He who tends a fig tree will eat its fruit and he who observes his master will be honored (Prov. 27:18)."⁴

Another interpretation. PROVIDE YOURSELF WITH A TEACHER FOR WISDOM. This refers to Joshua ben Nun, as Scripture says : "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom for Moses had laid his hands upon him (Dt. 34:9)."⁵

If⁶ one studies with one teacher, he (the teacher) hands on to him

¹ Arbel may be the city in Lower Galilee, west of the Sea of Galilee and north of Tiberias mentioned in Macc. 9:2. Or it may be modern Afula (Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land*, p. 142).

In Version B the saying of Nittai and Joshua ben Perahyah have been switched (see Ch. 16, n. 2).

² Version B has added the words "for wisdom" and "for mishnah"; they are lacking in PA and ARNA. One gets a teacher to learn wisdom; according to the interpretations below the companion is for the purpose of studying more effectively and with less danger of error. J. Goldin (*The Living Talmud*, p. 56) translates this : "Provide thyself with a teacher [from whom] to learn and get thee a comrade [with whom] to review".

³ Midrash, Halaka and Aggadah is the established, threefold curriculum. See Ch. 12, n. 7.

⁴ The verse refers to a pupil's relationship to his teacher; the pupil will gather fruit from his master if he cultivates him. The Hebrew for "observes" is the root *šmr*, meaning to "watch, guard, observe (a law)".

⁵ Joshua is full of wisdom because he has provided himself with a teacher. In Ch. 11 (p. 28, l. 6) Joshua waited for Moses, his teacher. Dt. 34:9 is used in Ch. 1 (p. 2) to show that Moses passed on the Torah to Joshua. The laying on of hands is reminiscent of ordination. Joshua is further referred to as Moses' servant in NumRab 12:9; Tan, *Pinhas*, 11; and Yalkut Ha-Maciri on Prov. 27:18.

⁶ The issue now is : Should a student study everything with one teacher at one time or should he have many teachers at one time, each teaching him one subject. This is not to be confused with the next paragraph which encourages moving on to a second teacher, but only after you have studied everything thoroughly with one.

The text in Version B is hopelessly confused. I merely give a mechanical translation and despair of arriving at its original form. For a clearer version see ARNA pp. 35-36

something in Halakot and will make him understand it in Midrash. He (the student) learned Midrash from him (the teacher). He hands on to him something in Aggadot and will make him understand it in Aggadot. He learned Aggadot from him. This (student) understands him (his teacher) in all fields. If one studies with many teachers, they hand on to him something in Halakot and he will make him understand it in Halakot. He learned Halakot from him. They hand on to him something in Midrash and he will make him understand it in Midrash. He learned Aggadot from him. They hand on to him something in Aggadot and he will make him understand it in Halakot. This (student) does not understand him (his teacher)⁷ in any field.

To what may one who studies with one teacher be likened?⁸ To one who had a field requiring a seah of seed. He planted wheat in one place and barley in another. The field is thus filled with blessings. To what may one who studies with many teachers be likened? To one who had a field about the size of a kor.⁹ He planted wheat and barley in one place and grapes, olives and figs in another place. This man is scattered¹⁰ all over the place.

Concerning them¹¹ Scripture says: "Happy is the man who listens to me, watching daily at my gates, waiting beside my doors (Prov.

(G p. 49). The point seems to be that a man may be formally taught something in Halaka, but only realize it and really understand while studying midrash—under the same teacher and using the same method.

Ms. P (Schechter, p. 169) has a different version of the text. Schechter (note 3) and Finkelstein ("Midrash, Halakot, and Aggadot," in the *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume* [in Hebrew], ed. S. W. Baron, S. Ettinger, *et al.*, Jerusalem, 1960, p. 30) both attempt to reconstruct this text, but neither is convincing.

⁷ I follow Ms. P here. Ms. R has a dittography.

⁸ For this comparison given in the name of Rabbi Meir, see A p. 36 (G pp. 49-50). Rabbi Meir has another saying encouraging study with other teachers after study with one has been completed (A p. 16; G p. 28). See Rabbi Akiba's saying below.

⁹ The kor is thirty seahs. Thus the field in the second case is much bigger than that in the first. In A the problem is one field and many fields. In either case, the larger area of cultivation and variety of crops scatters the man's attention. Version A's simile of many fields is more accurate in that the fields represent many teachers.

¹⁰ Mss. R, P and H read *mpḥd* ("fears"). I translate Schechter's emendation, *mpwzr*.

¹¹ Who is "them"? This seems to refer to the zealous student of Torah, but its beginning is not smooth (see Schechter, note 5). This paragraph begins a new topic, that of not being satisfied after study under one teacher has been completed. ARNA p. 16 (G pp. 28-29 and n. 18) draws out more explicitly the conclusion that one should study under four teachers such as Eliezer, Joshua, Tarphon and Akiba. The basis for this conclusion is the Hebrew "*dallotai*" ("my gates") which is similar to "*dalet*", the Hebrew letter used as the number four.

8:34)." What "four"? Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Tarfon.¹² Rabbi Akiba said: If you learned from one teacher and have gotten out of him¹³ everything he has to teach you, do not sit back and say: That's enough for me. Rather, go to another and learn from him Midrash, Halaka, and Aggada,¹⁴ as Scripture says: "She is like the ships of the merchant, she brings her food from afar (Prov. 31:14)." Perhaps one should study with a teacher who is far off and
 p. 40 afterwards study with one nearby. Scripture teaches: "Drink water from your own cistern... (Prov. 5:15)."¹⁵

AND GET YOURSELF A COMPANION FOR MISHNAH. A man¹⁶ can provide himself with a teacher for wisdom but can only get himself a companion for Mishnah with difficulty. And who is the companion of whom the Sages speak everywhere? Anyone whose views correspond to one another eat and drink together, and converse with one another, and reveal their secrets to each other. Of them Scripture says: Two are better than one... (Qoh. 4:9)."¹⁷

Another interpretation. "Two are better than one..." This world and the world to come.¹⁸

¹² Rabbi Akiba should be a fourth in this list (see the previous note) but since his name is immediately repeated as author of the following saying, it was omitted through haplography as one of the four.

The saying occurs under Rabbi Meir's name in A p. 16 (G p. 28) and Schechter (n. 5) suggests he should be the author of it here with Rabbi Akiba's name only occurring once. This is possible, but it would have been easier for Akiba's name to drop out than Meir's.

¹³ Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 118) suggests the reading *wm's't bw*, which we follow. Schechter's suggestion in note 6 does not fit as well here, though it is the original text in ARNA (see Finkelstein).

¹⁴ Note that the principle of always studying all the branches of learning with each teacher is preserved (see note 6 above).

¹⁵ This final student regulation along with the preceding ones seeks to control the students' movements and to insist that they avoid confusion and learn one man's thought close to home before moving on to another, farther away. See Sifre Dt 306 (Finkelstein, p. 338).

¹⁶ See A p. 36 (G p. 50) and Sifre Dt 305 (Finkelstein, p. 324). Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 18-19) says that Sifre has here quoted Version A.

¹⁷ Studying in common was characteristic of ancient education. See Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (Lund, 1961), the first half, for the Jewish and some of the general Hellenistic evidence.

The close relation to one's study companion implies a real friendship. Perhaps it also implies the Pharisaic Association (*ḥburh*). The members assumed serious and strict obligations toward one another in regard to ritual purity. (See Saul Lieberman, *JBL* 71 [1952], 199-202.) This intimacy might easily have flowed over into study.

¹⁸ To have life in this world and the world to come is better than to have it just in

Another interpretation.¹⁹ "Two are better than one..." This refers to a man and his wife.

"Because they have a good reward for their toil (Qoh. 4:9)." This refers to scholars who sit studying; one of them goes through a chapter (or) a halaka. (Suppose) he says of the clean that it is unclean or of the unclean that it is clean. If there is someone to correct him, of them Scripture says: "For if one falls, the other will lift up his fellow... (Qoh. 4:10)." But if there is a single disciple sitting and studying and he goes through a chapter or halaka and says of the clean that it is unclean or of the unclean that it is clean, if there is no one to correct him, of him Scripture says: "But woe to him who is alone when he falls and has not another to lift him up (Qoh. 4:10)." ²⁰

The Shekinah goes around from one to another of the scholars who sit studying and blesses them, as Scripture says: "And I will walk among you... (Lev. 26:12)." ²¹ From here I learn only that this is true when scholars are numerous. Where does Scripture teach that the Shekinah attends and blesses just ten? It says: "God has taken his place in the divine council... (Ps. 82:1)." From here I learn only that this is true when there are ten scholars. ²² Where does Scripture teach that the Shekinah attends and blesses just five? It says: "In the midst of the gods he holds judgment (Ps. 82:1)." From here I learn only that this is true when there are five scholars. ²³ Where does Scripture

this world. Ber 6a adds the thought that two who studied Torah together are written in the book of life.

¹⁹ This and the previous interpretation do not concern two companions studying together. But immediately after this interpretation, Qoh 4:9b and 4:10 are interpreted with reference to two scholars. Perhaps these two interpretations at some time intruded into a consistent midrash of Qoh. 4:9-10 as applied to two scholars studying together.

²⁰ Concerning the correction of mistakes, see Meg 5a-b and QohRab 4:9. See also A p. 36 (G p. 50).

²¹ In Lev 12:3 God addresses the people as follows: "If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments and do them, then I will give you. ..." A list of blessings is detailed, ending with our verse. The reasoning here probably is that if the people kept the commandments, they must have been taught and that requires scholars. So, a time of blessings is a time of many scholars.

²² Several sources list groups of various numbers and the Scriptural basis for saying that God is with a group of that size in some way. See A p. 36 (G p. 50); PA 3:6; Sanh 1:6; Ber 6a; ARNB p. 74 (Ch. 34); Mech to 20:24 (Lauterbach, II, p. 287); MechRS to 20:21 (p. 156). All sources which treat a group of ten use Ps. 82:1a as the proof text. According to Sanh 1:6 'dh is a group of ten, based on its use in Num. 14:27.

²³ Albeck, IV, p. 364, note, says that the Hebrew "council" (*qr̥b*) refers to a court of law where three judges and two witnesses are necessary and therefore to a group of

teach that the Shekinah attends and blesses just three? It says : "And founds his band upon the earth... (Amos 9:6)." From here I learn only that this is true when there are three scholars.²⁴ Where does Scripture teach that the Shekinah attends and blesses just two? It says : "Then those who fear the Lord spoke each to his neighbor... (Mal. 3:16)."²⁵ "Those who fear the Lord." These are the proselytes. "Those who think his name (Mal. 3:16)." To everyone who intends in his heart to do a commandment and does not do it, God accounts it as though he did it,²⁶ as Scripture says : "Then I said, 'Lo, I come; in the roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do your will, O my God; the law is within my heart' (Ps. 40:8-9)." Even with one sitting and studying alone, the Holy One, blessed be He, comes around to him and blesses him, as Scripture says : "I will come to you and bless you (Ex. 20:24)."²⁷ A parable. To what may this be compared? To one who left his son in his house and went out to the marketplace. When he returned, he found him busy with Torah. In his joy he called to everyone and said to them : Come and see how fine my son is. Just a little while ago I left him in the house and went out to the marketplace. When I returned, I found him busy with Torah. He said to him : My son, about you Scripture says : "Be wise, my son, and make my

five. In PA 3:6 a group of five is mentioned with Amos 9:6 as the proof. There the Hebrew for "band" (*'gwdh* : BH "vault") refers to the band or group of fingers on a hand (see Albeck IV, p. 496). (For these groups and the reasons for them, see Suk 13a, the Tosafists, under *bšlk*.)

²⁴ The group of three is proved by Amos 9:6 in ARNA and Ber 6a. See *'gwdh* equal to a group of three in Suk 13a. In PA 3:6, Mech and MechRS, Ps 82:1b is used as a proof for a group of 3; *qrḇ* ("council") refers to the three judges in a court.

²⁵ In Mal. 3:16 "each to his neighbor" refers to two people. Also in ARNA; PA 3:2 and 3:6; Ber 6a; Mech; MechRS. In ARNB p. 74 (Ch. 34) it loosely refers to a group of two or three.

The final sentence of the formula, "From here I learn only that this is true when there are two scholars," is omitted and it is followed by a brief interpretation of Mal. 3:16 which is not immediately relevant to this context.

²⁶ See Ber 6a where Mal. 3:16b, "those who think his name," refers to those who intend to fulfill a commandment but are prevented by circumstances or accident; they receive the merit of the action anyway. This verse is often used to prove this. Ps. 40:8-9 is an added proof : the psalmist delights in the law in his heart and he is written in the book, that is, he will be rewarded, and this because he had delight in his heart.

²⁷ In Ex 20:21 God has given the Decalogue and then he says : "In every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come to you and bless you." "You" is a singular form.

heart glad, that I may answer him who reproaches me (Prov. 27:11).”
“My son, if your heart is wise, my heart will be glad. My soul will rejoice when your lips speak what is right (Prov. 23:15-16).” “The father of the righteous will greatly rejoice; he who begets a wise son will be glad in him (Prov. 23:24),” And Scripture also says : “Let your father and mother be glad, let her who bore you rejoice (Prov. 23:25).”

CHAPTER NINETEEN

AND JUDGE EVERYONE WITH THE SCALE WEIGHTED IN HIS FAVOR. A story is told¹ about a man who sent his son to his friend; he said to his son: Go and say to him: Father said: Lend me one measure of wheat. The son went and found him measuring wheat.² He said to him: Father said to you: Lend me one measure of wheat. The man said to him: I swear that the wheat is not my property.³ The son went back to his father and said to him: Father, I found him measuring wheat and he said to me: I swear that the wheat is not my property. His father said to him: Perhaps it is for the second tithe.⁴

And again he said to his son: Go and say to him: Father said:

¹ This chapter consists of three stories. Shab 127b has three similar stories in the same order, introduced as Tananaitic stories: in the first story a landowner does not pay his worker's wages on time, for much the same reasons that the friend does not make a loan in ARNB. The second story in Shab concerns ransoming a captive and on the basis of this and of the second story in A (p. 37; G pp. 51-52) the gap in the second story (see note 7 below) may concern going among the gentiles to ransom a captive. However, the versions are different: in B the focus is upon going among the gentiles; in Shab and in A the focus is upon relations to the female captive who is ransomed.

The third story in Shab concerns Rabbi Joshua at the house of a Roman noblewoman but it is parallel in structure to the third story in ARNB. Similarly, the first story in A (p. 37; G p. 51) concerns going to a prostitute to ransom her from captivity. In these three sources the stories have influenced one another and have been greatly adapted. The basic stories must have been a constant accompaniment to the saying: "Judge everyone with the scale weighted in his favor."

For another copy of the first two of the three stories, see *Sheiltot*, edited by Samuel Kalman and Moshe Mirsky, *Shemot*, Vol. 3, Sections 42, p. 13. The first story is quoted in *Menorat Ha-Maor*, IV, pp. 317-18.

² Ms. R has a lacuna here and Ms. P is also somewhat deficient. I follow in the main the text in the *Sheiltot*, which has the full pattern of interchange between father and son and then son and friend.

The form *qrwy* in Ms. R makes no sense. Ms. P has *qnwyh*; *Sheiltot* and Schechter both have *qnwy*, the form accepted here.

"I swear" in Hebrew is *kk wkk*, "Thus and thus." It is a euphemism for the words of an oath; see Lieberman, *Greek*, p. 123.

³ "It is not property" is a difficult idiomatic expression *'yn qnwy ly*. It occurs in Ned 35a and even there the commentators struggle with it.

⁴ For the second tithe, see Dt. 14:22-27; 26:12-15; Lev. 26:30-31; 19:23-25. The name "second tithe" is not given to it in the Bible, but it is the tithe to be consumed (itself or its equivalent) in Jerusalem. It was eaten in the first, second, fourth and fifth years of the Jubilee cycle.

Lend me one mina.⁵ He went and found him counting coins. He said to him : Father said to you : Lend me one mina. The man replied to him : I swear that not an issar is mine. He went back to his father and told him : Father, I found him counting coins and he said to me : I swear not an issar is mine. His father said to him : Perhaps they are money deposited with him.

When they went out to the marketplace and met each other, his friend said to him : When your son came to me and found me measuring wheat and I did not give him any, what did you say about me? He said : I said : Perhaps it is for the second tithe. And concerning the mina, what did you say about me? I said : Perhaps it is a deposit. He said to him : I swear that you were exactly right.⁶ About you it is said : AND JUDGE EVERYONE WITH THE SCALE WEIGHTED IN HIS FAVOR.

- p. 41 A story is told of Rabbi Joshua that he went to ransom a woman taken captive.⁷ And when he returned, he went (into the pool) and bathed. He said to this disciples : Comrades, what did you say about me? They said to him : Rabbi, what we said about you was : We have no one in Israel like you. What (laws of) uncleanness and cleanness are there current in Israel which did not come from your mouth.⁸ He said to them : And afterwards, what did you say about me? They said to him : We said : When you were among the unclean, uncircumcised Gentiles, you were⁹ like one who eats pork, and when you came back among (the people of) Israel, you said : I will go (to the pool) and bathe and become like them, clean. He said to them : I swear that you were exactly right. About you it is said : AND JUDGE EVERYONE WITH THE SCALE WEIGHTED IN HIS FAVOR.

⁵ An Italian mina was 50 shekels (c. 11.5 oz.) and a regular mina was 80 shekels (c. 20 oz.).

⁶ Literally : "you did not deviate to the right or the left."

⁷ Ms. P and Sheiltot read as I have translated. Ms. R has only : "A story is told of Rabbi Joshua, etc." The story must have been very familiar to the copyist for him to just write "etc." Or perhaps the "etc." is a euphemism for a delicate matter.

The name of Rabbi Joshua is not mentioned in Shab and ARNA. Maybe they were embarrassed to tell this story of Rabbi Joshua. Sheiltot has Joshua ben Levi, an Amora of the first generation.

⁸ There seems to be an undertone of evasion in the disciples' answer to Rabbi Joshua's very pointed question. They give a general sort of answer : "Well, of course, you are always *very* careful about ritual purity."

⁹ Sheiltot adds : "in your own eyes," a phrase that limits the sharpness of "one who eats pork."

A story is told about a woman in Ashkelon.¹⁰ None the likes of Eve¹¹ was more beautiful than she. Rabbi Joshua went to talk with her. When he reached her door, he removed his (outer) garment and phylacteries. When he entered, he locked the door behind him and when he came out, he went (into the pool) and bathed. He said to his disciples : Comrades, what did you say about me ? They replied : Rabbi, what we said about you was : We have no one in Israel like you. What (laws of) uncleanness are there in Israel which did not come from your mouth. He said to them : And afterwards, what did you say about me ? They said to him : We said : (You are removing your garment and
p. 42 phylacteries)¹² so that nothing clean will enter into something unclean, or so that no one will recognize that you are a Jew.¹³ And when I entered and locked the door behind us, what did you say about me ? They replied : We said that while the door is open, permission is given for one about to go out to go out and for one about to enter to enter. You said : I will lock the door behind us until I have discussed all my business with her. And when I came out and went (into the pool) to bathe, what did you say about me ? They replied : We said : Perhaps when she was talking with you, a drop of spittle sprayed from her mouth onto you¹⁴ and you said : I will go (to the pool) to bathe and I will be like them, clean. He said to them : In this you were exactly right. About you it is said : AND JUDGE EVERYONE WITH THE SCALE WEIGHTED IN HIS FAVOR.

¹⁰ This story is similar in structure to the previous one but it is more drawn out and detailed. Ashkelon was known as a heathen town (Ket 26b) and it was there that Simeon ben Shetah hanged eighty women for idolatry or witchcraft (Sanh 6:4). See Alon, *Toledot*, I, p. 85.

¹¹ "The likes of Eve," is a paraphrase for "woman".

¹² This comment must refer to his outer garment and phylacteries. The clause in parentheses is needed to complete the dialogue pattern of this story. As we see later, he removed his distinguishing (outer) garments in order not to be recognized.

¹³ The phylacteries are holy and so Joshua was protecting them from defilement. Presumably Jews dressed in a distinctive way, as did all nationalities and religions; Joshua perhaps took off his garment to avoid bringing a bad name on all Jews.

¹⁴ Spittle from a menstruant or a man with a flux renders one unclean. See the Rules of Uncleanliness from Elijah, Gaon of Wilna, in Danby, pp. 800ff, number 3. A gentile is presumed to be unclean and so is his or her spittle; see Toh 7:6 and Rule 10; Toh 5:8, and also Toh 1:5 and 10:6; Kel 1:3; Mak 6:6; Shab 15b. Even spittle from an observant Jew was to be covered—see Shab 121b and Ket 105b. Krauss (*Talmudischen Archäologie*, I, p. 251) brings out the hygienic precautions taken against spittle.

CHAPTER TWENTY

JUDAH BEN TABBAI AND SIMEON BEN SHETAH TOOK OVER FROM THEM.¹
JUDAH BEN TABBAI SAYS : AGAIN AND AGAIN EXAMINE THE WITNESSES;
AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF THOSE LISTENING WHEN YOU SPEAK BECAUSE
FROM YOUR WORDS THEY MIGHT HEAR (SOMETHING) AND LEARN TO LIE.²

p. 43 You find that this was the case with Rabshakeh. He was caught by his very own words, as Scripture says : "Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land... (2 Ki. 18:32)." They replied to him : If our land is not beautiful to you, leave us in our place.³

He said to them :⁴ Before I had entered into authority, I fled from it. Since I entered into office, if someone tries to remove me from it, I shall come down on him with jars (of hot water).⁵ You find that this

¹ Judah and Simeon were the third pair. They ruled during the first part of the first century, B.C.E. Judah was first the leader, the Nasi, but then Simeon gained power as the Pharisaic party gained ascendancy under Salome (B.C.E. 76-76). See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 13-14 and note 4 below.

² The sayings of the two men are switched, as compared to PA 1:8-9 and A, Ch. 10. (Cf. Ch. 16, n. 3 for another example of this.) Both sayings concern courtroom attitude and procedure and could be easily switched. Logically the order in PA and ARNA fits better because there general attitudes are dealt with first and then the specifics of the examination given to witnesses.

The phrase "of those listening" in B is lacking in PA. Version A (p. 43, bottom; G p. 59) is very different from the other two versions.

³ This interpretation warns the judge against asking questions which might encourage or aid the witness to evade giving a pointed answer. The answer that the Jerusalemites give to the Assyrian general Rabshakeh is a clever evasion for which he left an opening in his question. The original saying of Judah ben Tabbai seems to warn against asking leading questions which let the witness know how much he can lie without being caught.

⁴ The "he" is presumably Judah ben Tabbai. Schechter (note 4) suggests the introductory formula : "He used to say," as found in A p. 43 In both A p. 43 (G p. 59) and here Judah says this, even though Judah's saying is switched. It may refer to his loss of the office of Nasi (Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 14 and also p. 149). This saying of Judah fits into context in A better than here in B and is an argument in favor of the attribution of sayings as found in PA and A. Men 109b has the name of Joshua ben Perahyah with this saying also. (JerPes 6:1 (33a) cites Rabbi Joshua ben Kabsar) A. Guttmann (*Pharisaic Judaism in the Making*, p. 43) and Z. Frankel (*Darke*, p. 31) consider ARNB to be corrupt here.

⁵ Ms. R reads *qbgywt*. Mss. P and H read *qqbywt*. Lieberman (Greek, pp. 170-72) finds various forms of the word in Hebrew texts and Greek transliterations. He concludes that the original was probably *qbgywn* or *qbgywn* and that it means a jar for water, as

was the case with Saul. Before he entered into authority, he fled from it, as Scripture says : "And the Lord said, 'Behold he has hidden himself among the baggage' (1 Sam. 10:22)." Once he entered into office, he kept trying to surround David and his men to capture them.⁶

SIMEON BEN SHETAH SAYS : DO NOT PLAY THE PART OF CHIEF JUSTICE;⁷ AND WHEN THERE ARE LITIGANTS STANDING BEFORE YOU, LOOK UPON THEM AS LIKELY TO BE GUILTY;⁸ BUT WHEN THEY DEPART FROM YOUR PRESENCE, LOOK UPON THEM AS LIKELY TO BE INNOCENT, IN SO FAR AS THEY ASK FOR THE SENTENCE AND RECEIVE AND RESPECT IT.⁹

If one who is respectable¹⁰ and one who is not (are before a judge), do not say : this one's words are trustworthy because he is respectable, and the other one's are not because he is not respectable. If a poor man and a rich man (are before a judge), do not say : This one's words are trustworthy because he is poor and the other one's are not because he is rich.¹¹ Rather, you are to listen to the words of the rich man in the same way you listen to the words of the poor man, and you are to listen to the words of the poor man in the same way you listen to the words of the rich man, as Scripture says : "You shall not be partial in judgment... (Dt. 1:17)."¹²

opposed to *qumqwm* which occurs in A and is a jar specifically for hot water. See also Lieberman, *Yerushalmi Ki-Phshuto*, p. 468. Ben Yehuda (Vol. 11, p. 5721, col. b and note 3) disagrees with both Lieberman and Schechter, note 6, who argues for the meaning "legal tricks." See parallels in A p. 43 (G p. 59); Men 109b; JerPes 6:1 (33a).

⁶ See A p. 43 (G p. 59).

⁷ For this translation see Goldin, Ch. 10, n. 2 and his reference to T-A, p. 519. '*wrky hdyynym* was probably originally '*rky krytys* (*archikritēs* in Greek).

⁸ In a civil case the judge is to treat both sides fairly and see them as equal. Since a loss has presumably been suffered and someone is at fault, both are to be seen as at fault until the facts are ascertained and judgement rendered.

⁹ Version B adds a couple of verbs : "submit" and "respect". For "respect" read with Mss. P and H : *wyşpnw*. Ms. R : *wyynpny* does not make sense. When the parties have accepted the judgment, the wrong has been compensated for and both stand freshly innocent before the law.

¹⁰ *kšr* means "of noble birth; genteel; respectable." See Ch. 4, p. 14, where the School of Shammai says that only men who are *kšr* should be allowed to study. Here again the rights and worthiness of the ordinary citizen are upheld.

The following comments refer to : "When there are litigants standing before you."

¹¹ In the light of the previous comment, in which the one who is not respectable was distrusted, you would expect the poor man to be the one initially distrusted. But, perhaps the rich man's monetary interest in many suits would lead him to be thought more untrustworthy than the poor man. Or perhaps the judge might favor the poor man in an attempt to overcome his initial inclination to favor the rich.

¹² See A p. 43 (G pp. 58-59).

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

p. 44 SHEMAIAH AND ABTALYON TOOK OVER FROM THEM.¹ SHEMAIAH SAYS :
LOVE WORK, HATE LORDSHIP, AND SEEK NO INTIMACY WITH THE RULING
POWERS.²

LOVE WORK. A man must love work and engage in it. Is there³ not an inference to be drawn? If it is written⁴ of the Holy One, blessed be He, to whom belong the world and its fullness, who created the world with just a word, as Scripture says : "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made... (Ps. 33:6)." —that he did work, as Scripture says : "His work which he had done... (Gen. 2:2)," all the more so then should human beings (love work and engage in it).⁵

Rabbi Eliezer says :⁶ Great is work because even Adam did not taste anything until he did work, as Scripture says : "And [the Lord God] put

¹ Shemaiah and Abtalyon were the fourth pair and ruled during the middle and latter part of the first century, B.C. See Josephus *Ant.* XIV, 9, 4; XV, 1, 1 and 10, 4 for what seems to be a mention of them under the names Sameas and Pollion. But Derenbourg (pp. 148-50 and 463-64) identifies them as Shammai and Hillel.

² This saying probably gained currency after the Romans conquered Palestine and then Herod gained power under them.

³ Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 208) suggests that the original text of this paragraph is found in Magen Abot, quoting ARN, which reads : "Great is work because the Holy One, Blessed be He, had work written in connection with Himself : 'From all His work which He had done...' (Gen. 2:2)." This text is concise and the introductory phrase, "Great is work," matches the beginnings of the rest of the paragraphs in this chapter.

⁴ *hw' ktyb* is odd in this exact context. It should come just before the Scriptural verse. Perhaps the variant quoted in the previous note (with *hktyb*) is better.

⁵ On God's working and man's greater duty to do so, see Mech on Ex. 20:4 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 255-56) and also PesRab 23:5 (Friedmann, 117a; Braude, p. 480) by implication. Both Mss. P and H have : "the rest of human beings," but that does not really fit in this case. It would fit if a king (and not God explicitly) were mentioned.

⁶ All of the following paragraphs begin with a Sage's name and the phrase : "Great is work. ..." SifreNum 42 (Horovitz, pp. 46-47), LevRab 9:9 (Margulies, p. 189) and Yalkut, I, 711 have a series of statements beginning with "Great is peace. ..." Yoma 86a and b has "Great is repentance. ..." A later midrash is built on this pattern — *Midrash Gadol we-Gedolah* in Jellinek, III, pp. 121-30. See also the collection in MhM, IV, 520-560.

Most of the sages have a pair of sayings. The parallels with ARNA, Ch. 11 (pp. 44-45; G pp. 60-61) are shown below but they are not introduced by "Great is work. ..." The

him in the garden of Eden to work it and keep it (Gen. 2:15)."⁷ Was the garden in need of work or was it in need of keeping?⁸ (No.) Rather Adam was to obey (God's) commandments,⁹ as Scripture says: "You shall fear the Lord your God and you shall work for him... (Dt. 6:13)." This refers to work. And similarly Scripture says: "And you shall

numbers with the ARNA citations give the order of the sayings in ARNA.

<i>ARNB</i>	<i>ARNA</i>
Anonymous	
Eliezer	Simeon ben Eleazar (4)
Eliezer again	Anonymous (1)
Rabbi	
Rabbi again	
Jose	Tarphon (5)
Jose again	Akiba (2)
Meir	Dostai (3)
Judah	Jose (7)
Eliezer (second set)	
Eliezer again	(Part of Akiba — 2)
Eleazar ben Azariah	
Rabbi (second set)	
Rabbi again	Judah ben Bathyra (6)
	(Jose) — on women
	Nathan

Several pairs of sayings are linked by theme. Entries near the end of the chapter show signs of having been added on. *MhM*, III, pp. 299-330 has a shortened version of *ARNB*.

⁷ See A p. 45 (G p. 60) where the following verse (Gen. 2:16) is also quoted. In it Adam is allowed to eat; but this verse comes after the verse where he is required to work.

Rabbi Eliezer was a disciple of Johanan ben Zakkai. In A the saying occurs in the name of Simeon ben Eleazar, a contemporary of Rabbi Judah the Prince and a pupil of Rabbi Meir.

⁸ This sentence is the beginning of a new interpretation, even though it is not labelled as such. Schechter (n. 5) does not think that this paragraph belongs here. *Menorat Ha-Maor*, p. 299 skips this paragraph, though it includes the material preceding it and following it. With Schechter I follow Ms. H.

The root for "work" is *'bd* and for "keeping" *šmr*. They occur in Gen. 2:15 and in the two following Scriptural quotes. This section is confused and unclear. Its point seems to be that since the Garden of Eden did not really need cultivation, "work" and "keeping" refer to keeping the commandments. The point is put more clearly in *SifreDt* 41 (Finkelstein, p. 87) and *PRE* 12. See also *Legends*, I, p. 70 and V, p. 92, n. 54 as well as *Alon, Toledot*, pp. 329-31. See also *BerRab* 16:5 (T-A, p. 149) where "working" refers to the six days of work (Ex. 20:9) and "keeping" refers to keeping the Sabbath (Dt. 5:12).

⁹ *l'mud l' dbryw* would ordinarily mean "to understand his words." However, *l'mud* probably includes the idea of obeying God's commandments here. These two notions are closely connected in *SifreDt* 41 (Finkelstein, p. 87). See the previous note.

learn them and be careful to do them (Dt. 5:1)." This refers to keeping.

Rabbi Eliezer¹⁰ used to say further : Great is work because just as the people of Israel were commanded concerning the Sabbath, so were they commanded concerning work, as Scripture says : "Six days you shall labor and do all your work ; but the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God (Ex. 20:9-10)."¹¹

Rabbi says : Great is work because people talk about anyone who does not engage in work : How does so and so get anything to eat, how does he get anything to drink ? A parable. To what may this be compared ? To a woman who does not have a husband, and yet adorns herself and goes out into the marketplace ; people talk about her. In the same way people talk about anyone who does not engage in work.¹²

Rabbi used to say further : Great is work because the hand of anyone who engages in work never lacks a perutah.¹³

Rabbi Jose says :¹⁴ Great is work because the Shekinah did not abide with Israel until they did work, as Scripture says : "And (first) let them make me a sanctuary ; then I will dwell in their midst (Ex. 25:8)."

Rabbi Jose said further :¹⁵ Great is work because everyone who does not engage in work puts his life in jeopardy. How is this so ? Suppose someone was idle for one day and for a second day, and had nothing to eat. Now if he had in his possession some consecrated funds,¹⁶ which he used to get himself some food, he put his life in jeopardy. What caused him to put his life in jeopardy ? His not having engaged in work.

Rabbi Meir says :¹⁷ Great is work because everyone who does not

¹⁰ Rabbi Eliezer again (see note 7 above). This saying occurs anonymously in A p. 44 (G p. 60).

¹¹ Previously working meant studying Torah. Here it refers to ordinary work done on six days of the week. (In SifreDt 41 [Finkelstein, p. 88] it refers to prayer).

¹² See TosKid 1:11 where this parable occurs in the name of Rabbi Jose, a pupil of Akiba who came one generation before Rabbi.

¹³ The perutah was a small Jewish coin, one eighth of an issar.

¹⁴ In A p. 45 (G pp. 60-61) this occurs in the name of Rabbi Tarphon, a contemporary of Akiba.

¹⁵ See A p. 44 (G p. 60) where this occurs in the name of Rabbi Akiba.

¹⁶ Consecrated funds are dedicated to the Temple. If a man has vowed some money or goods to the Temple, he may not enjoy any use of them. See Nedarim, Chs. 1 and 2 and also note 25 below.

¹⁷ See A p. 44 (G p. 60) where it occurs in the name of Rabbi Dostai (ben Jannai), who handed down saying of Rabbi Meir, the one in whose name this saying occurs in

work on weekdays ends up doing it on the Sabbath. How does this happen? Suppose someone was idle for one day, and for a second day and¹⁸ had nothing to eat. He went and stole, He was caught and turned over to the government and they put him to work on the Sabbath. What caused him to work on the Sabbath? His not having worked on weekdays.

Rabbi Judah says: Great is work because man dies only from idleness. How is this so? Suppose he went up to the roof, and then fell off and died. He would not have died except from idleness.¹⁹ They said to him: If a man was standing along the furrow, and was overcome and died, does he (too) die only from idleness?²⁰ He answered: The Sages, p. 45 may their memory be blessed, taught precisely that if one was sick for two or three days, he died only from idleness.²¹

Rabbi Eliezer says: Great is work because when a man steals from another the equivalent of a perutah, he must go after him even to Media (to make restitution).²² (Yet), a laborer who was working among the date trees with the owner may help himself to a date worth even a dinar²³ without embarrassment.²⁴

Rabbi Eliezer used to say further: Great is work because whoever derives personal profit from a perutah's worth of Temple property has committed sacrilege. (Yet), the laborers who worked on the Temple property take their wages from Temple property.²⁵

our text (Strack, p. 116). It is connected by theme with the previous paragraph. The two paragraphs come in the same order in ARNA.

¹⁸ Schechter suggests an emendation (*'yn*) to the text. But the Mss., with *w'yn*, match the pattern and expression in the previous paragraph, so I have not accepted the emendation.

¹⁹ This example seems to imply that the man was loafing on the roof. In QohRab 2:17, "So I hated life," the story is told as that of a glutton who worked six days but had nothing to eat on the Sabbath. So he threw himself down from the roof.

Rabbi Judah and Rabbi Jose (ARNB and ARNA) were contemporaries in the fourth generation.

²⁰ The sentence is an objection. Men die at work. Consequently idleness is not the only cause of death. See the parallel in A p. 45 (G p. 61) in the name of Jose.

²¹ Rabbi Judah counters that even sickness does not cause death directly as much as the idleness resulting from it.

²² See BabKam 9:5 and BabMez 7:2, 4, 5.

²³ A dinar is a zuz and equal to one half of a shekel.

²⁴ For someone to take a date without permission would ordinarily be considered stealing, but the *worker* in the field has the right to help himself. See BabMez 7:2, 4.

²⁵ Meilah, Ch. 5 contains an explanation of this type of sacrilege. Yet, the work by Temple laborers is an exception to this rule. Their work allows them to licitly receive

Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah says : Great is work because every kind of craftsman goes out and is proud of his occupation.²⁶ How ? The weaver goes out with the whorl on his ear and is proud of his occupation. The dyer goes out with some undyed wool on his ear and is proud of his occupation. The scribe²⁷ goes out with the pen on his ear and is proud of his occupation.²⁸

The Holy One, blessed be He, (is not ashamed) to refer to His own occupation, as Scripture says : "His work which He did... (Gen. 2:2)." How much the more should men take pride in their occupation.²⁹

Rabbi says : Great is work because even if a man has twenty thousand (dinars), he does not go out to the marketplace until he has put on his outer garment. And how does (a workingman)³⁰ go out ? With his towel³¹ tied around his thighs and his jar on his shoulder and he is proud of his occupation.³² The Holy One, blessed be He, is not ashamed to refer to His own occupation, as Scripture says : "His work which he did... (Gen. 2:2)." How much the more should men take pride in their occupation.³³

Rabbi used to say further : Great is work because even if a man has a dried up³⁴ courtyard or garden, he should go and work in them, so that he will engage in work.³⁵ They told³⁶ him a story about Rabbi

and benefit from Temple property. This and the previous paragraph are linked by "taking a perutah's worth."

²⁶ Literally : "praises himself for his craft." An alternate translation is "is praised for his craft." Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah was a disciple of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai.

²⁷ *lblr* : see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 303—from the Latin "*libellarius*".

²⁸ The Mss. and versions vary, containing less or different examples of crafts. See Schechter, n. 15, Shab 12a and TosShab 1:8. Other occupations are the tailor with a needle and the money changer with a dinar.

²⁹ This paragraph is out of place here. It occurred in substance at the beginning of the chapter. This group of sayings is probably collected from different sources and contexts and so this paragraph was caught up into this place.

³⁰ See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 200-201. Instead of "how" MhM reads "but the porter (*hktp*)," a better and more clear reading.

³¹ See Schechter, n. 16 and Aruch, *lnfyt*, vol. 5, p. 45.

³² In order to be respectable a rich man must dress up. But a worker is acceptable and admired just dressed in his work clothes. This theme is similar to that two paragraphs previous.

³³ This comment was just made in the previous paragraph. See note 29.

³⁴ R has *hrynym*. Ms. P reads *hrybym*, which I follow.

³⁵ See A p. 45 (G p. 60) where it occurs in the name of Judah ben Bathyra, a member of the second generation of Tannaim, with Ex. 20:9 as proof.

³⁶ Literally : "He told him." See Schechter, n. 19, for this emendation. Ms. P has 'm' *lw*, which is ambiguous.

Josiah moving his furniture from one house to another and from one corner to another as the Sabbath eve was arriving, at dusk. They asked him : Rabbi, why are you doing this ? He said to them : So that the Sabbath will come upon us³⁷ (as we are at work), as Scripture says : "Therefore the people of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, observing the Sabbath throughout their generations, as a perpetual covenant. It is a sign forever between me and the people of Israel that in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he ceased from work and was refreshed (Ex. 31:16-17)." "He ceased from work"—from labor. "And was refreshed"—from thoughts of work.³⁸

³⁷ As the following quote indicates, Sabbath only comes when one ceases from work. Thus Josiah, a representative of the School of Ishmael, works very hard just before Sabbath, so that he can rest when Sabbath comes and thus fulfill both commandments, to work and to rest.

³⁸ This interpretation of Ex. 31:17 is not relevant to the story of Rabbi Josiah above. It occurs in *Mech to 31:17* (Lauterbach, p. 205). See also *PesRab 23:3* (Friedmann, 116b; Brande, p. 478).

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

p. 46 AND HATE LORDSHIP. (This means) that a man should not seek honors for himself, but let him be honored when others honor him, as Scripture says: 'Let another praise you, and not your own mouth... (Prov. 27:2).'¹

Ben Azzai says: "If you have worn yourself out,² you will yet be exalted (Prov. 30:32),"³ (that is), if a man wears himself out over the words of Torah, he is destined to attain honor by them in the end.

Rabbi Akiba says:⁴ "If you have worn yourself out, you will yet be exalted (Prov. 30:32)," (that is), if a man wears himself out over the words of Torah, he is destined to attain honor by them in the end. How is this so? If he was accustomed to eat two dried figs (a day) and endure bodily sufferings, but would (even) sleep in the doorways of the sages—in the end he is destined to be honored (by the words of Torah).⁵ If a man advanced himself by means of the words of Torah, he is destined to be disgraced in the end, as it is with a three day old carcass whose smell no one can tolerate.⁶

Rabbi Jose says: To go up, come down; to come down, go up. If a man has lowered himself to the bottom, they will raise him on high and if he has raised himself up high, they will lower him.⁷

¹ A p. 46 (G p. 61) refers to putting a crown on one's head. ARNB (p. 1) begins with the reflection that one must be glorified by someone greater than himself.

² The verb is *nbl* which means in the Scriptural context "foolish"; but it can also mean "wear out". Below it will mean "disgrace". For this saying, see Yalkut to Prov., 964 and Derek Erez Zuta (ed. Higger, p. 127) where a similar one occurs, also in Ben Azzai's name.

³ The midrashic translation of Prov. 30:32 is presented. The RVS has: "If you have been foolish, exalting yourself. ..." This and the following interpretation presume that honor is attained by study of Torah.

⁴ Rabbi Akiba's saying is identical with that of Ben Azzai above. Schechter (n. 1) suggests that two versions of the same saying may have been mixed here. ARNA has only Rabbi Akiba saying this and then Ben Azzai saying some of the rest of the paragraph.

⁵ From "How is this so" on occurs in A p. 46 (G p. 62) in the name of Ben Azzai.

⁶ This final sentence occurs in A p. 46 (G pp. 61-62) in the name of Akiba and in a slightly different form. Prov. 30:32 is used to show that passers-by have to cover their nose and mouth from the smell of the carcass of one who exalts himself foolishly. The sentence is a pun on *htnbl* (disgraced) and *nblh* (careass).

⁷ See A p. 46 (G p. 62) where this is said, also by Rabbi Jose, in reference to exalting

Another interpretation. AND HATE LORDSHIP...⁸ but lordship will bury those who wield it and the (very) dust⁹ of royalty is difficult (to bear).

And similarly Scripture says : "Then Joseph died and all his brothers... (Ex. 1:6)" Was not Joseph the youngest among them? But lordship will bury those who wield it and the (very) dust of royalty is difficult (to bear).¹⁰

And similarly Scripture says : "And the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua... (Jug. 2:7)" And was not Joshua the youngest among them? But lordship will bury those who wield it and the (very) dust of royalty is difficult (to bear).

And similarly Scripture says : "The King Rehoboam took counsel with the old men, who had stood before Solomon, his father, while he was yet alive... (1 Ki. 12:6)" And was not Solomon the youngest among them? But lordship will bury those who wield it and the (very) dust of royalty is difficult (to bear).¹¹

Rabbi Jose says :¹² There is a just man and things go well for him and there is a just man and things go badly for him. There is a wicked man and things go well for him and there is a wicked man and things go badly for him.

"There is a just man and things go well for him." He is a just man, the son of a just man, one whose own deeds are good and whose ancestors' deeds are good. His ancestors laid up merit for him to enjoy in this world and he has laid up merit for himself to enjoy in the world to come.

oneself over Torah. The saying comes to us in Hillel's name in ExRab 45:5; see a similar idea in LevRab 1:5 (Margulies, pp. 16-17) by Ben Azzai.

⁸ The presence of 'l' immediately after the lemma seems to indicate a lacuna of some kind.

⁹ "Dust" seems to mean the slightest trace of authority. An alternate translation could be "Even a trace of authority is burdensome." This and the next three paragraphs are united by the same final line.

¹⁰ In the following comparisons a young leader dies before the older people who surround him. For the example of Joseph, see Ber 55a.

¹¹ Solomon's advisors outlived him to advise his son.

¹² Rabbi Jose and then below Rabbi Akiba, his teacher, present these four types of men. The four types do not seem relevant to the lemma, "AND HATE LORDSHIP," except for the last type given by Akiba. Rabbi Jose has been mentioned previously but that hardly seems reason for his teaching on the problem of evil to be brought up here. See Ber 7a. See also Gad Ben-Ami Sarfati, "Three Notes on Sayings of the Tannaim," *Tarbiz* 32 (1962-63), 136-42. The pattern here does not exactly match that studied by Sarfati, but there are similarities.

"There is a just man and things go badly for him." He is a just man, the son of a wicked man, one whose own deeds are good and whose ancestors' deeds are not good. His ancestors did not lay up merit for him to enjoy in this world, but he has laid up merit for himself to enjoy in the life of the world to come.¹³

"There is a wicked man and things go well for him." He is a wicked man, the son of a just man, one whose own deeds are not good, but whose ancestors' deeds are good. His ancestors had laid up merit for him to enjoy in this world, but he did not lay up merit for himself to enjoy in the life of the world to come.

"There is a wicked man and things go badly for him." He is a wicked man, the son of a wicked man, one whose own deeds are not good and whose ancestors' deeds are not good. His ancestors did not lay up merit for him to enjoy in this world and he did not lay up merit for himself to enjoy in the life of the world to come.¹⁴

Rabbi Akiba says: There is a just man and things go well for him, and there is a just man and things go badly for him. There is a wicked man and things go well for him, and there is a wicked man and things badly for him.

"There is a just man and things go well for him." It was destined¹⁵ that possessions were not to be taken away from him because he was able to persevere in his righteousness, and¹⁶ his possessions were not taken away from him so that he might be a completely just man.

"There is a just man and things go badly for him." It was destined that his possessions would not be taken from him, but they were taken from him so that he might be a completely just man.¹⁷

¹³ The problem of good and evil is, of course, why the good suffer and the unjust prosper. In Rabbi Jose's schema a man's welfare in this life is determined by his ancestors' merits and his welfare in the world to come by his own merits. This passage fully accepts the characteristic Pharisaic doctrine of reward and punishment after death. See A. Mamorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (1920).

¹⁴ I translate Ms. P in this paragraph.

¹⁵ *špwy* means "foreseen," but here with the idea of "destined" (justly). In the paragraph below, the just fate is changed for the just man's own good, that is, his possessions are taken away so that he will be more perfect (through deprivation and suffering). Rabbi Akiba is affirming God's providence in His dealings with men by his choice of word.

¹⁶ Mss. R, P and H have "but" here. However, there is no adversative idea here, so I have emended it to "and".

¹⁷ The formula established in the paragraph above is slightly abridged here. In addition, Ms. R has "It was destined that his possessions would be taken from him, but they were not taken from him. ..." I follow Mss. P and H in my translation. These

p. 47 "There is a wicked man and things go well for him." It was destined that his possessions would be taken away from him, but they are not taken from him so that he might repent, as Scripture says: "For my name's sake I defer my anger, for the sake of my praise I restrain it for you... For my own sake, for my own sake, I do it, for how should my name be profaned... (Is. 48:9 & 11)"¹⁸

"There is a wicked man and things go badly for him." It was foreseen that he would be a violent man who goes out to the marketplace and goes onto a crossroad and kills people and outrages them. He goes to the government and informs on them and the government keeps its power over them. Consequently, it is said: "AND HATE LORDSHIP."¹⁹

SEEK NO INTIMACY WITH THE RULING POWERS. For when one is well known to the ruling powers, people set their faces on him and fix their faces on him.²⁰ How so? People walk to and fro in the marketplace (and they say): "Have you seen what blessings so and so enjoys? Blessed be the one who did this and blessed be he who gave that." Robbers overhear this. They enter his house at night and take his life and his money. Who brought this on him? Those who blessed him with a loud voice, as Scripture says: "He who blesses his neighbor with a loud voice... will be counted as cursing (Prov. 27:14)."²¹

Another interpretation. SEEK NO INTIMACY WITH THE RULING POWERS, because they only bring one to themselves for their own

paragraphs do not make clear sense to me. See a similar idea put more clearly in Ber 7a.

¹⁸ For the first time a Scriptural proof is added. This paragraph may refer to a wicked man who will repent in the end, so God does not bring evil upon him.

¹⁹ We are not told how things go badly for this man. Perhaps it is that he alone of the four is not helped to repentance or complete righteousness. This man is totally wicked and cannot be helped by God's providence. The final connection to "AND HATE LORDSHIP" is probably secondary to the main point of Rabbi Akiba's saying. Yet, perhaps it was originally there and caused Rabbi Jose's and Akiba's sayings to be located here. Or it may be the evil that the wicked man suffers which is the connecting theme, for anyone who gets connected with lordship is said to suffer. Or perhaps the lemma was added later to justify putting these sayings here.

²⁰ The Hebrew phrase is difficult. See Ben Yehuda, III, 1387b, *zqp*, and VIII, 3879a, *ntn*. For the latter, see Lev. 17:10; 20:6 and Ex. 14:8 where *ntn pnyw bw* means to "set one's face against." This meaning does not fit here, for the people are not against so much as just noticing the powerful man.

²¹ See A p. 47 (G p. 62) and A p. 56 (G p. 71) for parallel. ARNA tells several stories like this and uses Prov. 27:14 twice. The assumption seems to be that anyone who is rich must be in collusion with the (Roman) rulers and that these ill-gotten gains will be lost eventually, either to robbers or to the rulers themselves. For the danger of excessive praise of another, see ARNB below, Ch. 26 (p. 52, bottom) and note 8 there.

purposes, appearing to be friends when it is to their own advantage; but they do not stand by a man in his hour of need.²²

ABTALYON SAYS: SAGES, WATCH YOUR WORDS LEST YOU INCUR THE PENALTY OF EXILE AND BE CARRIED OFF TO A PLACE OF EVIL WATERS, AND YOUR DISCIPLES WHO COME AFTER YOU DRINK OF THE EVIL WATERS AND DIE—AND THUS THE NAME OF HEAVEN BE PROFANED.²³

THE EVIL WATERS. This is a reference to the heathen nations, as Scripture says: "But they mingled with the nations and learned to do as they did (Ps. 106:35)."²⁴ Some say that "the evil waters" means to be carried off for cruel servitude.²⁵

Hillel and Menahem did not differ; Menahem went forth and Shammai²⁶ entered.

²² See A p. 47 (G p. 63). And see especially PA 2:3 where almost exactly the same saying occurs in the name of Rabban Gamaliel III, the son of Judah the Prince.

²³ ARNB and PA 1:11 are identical. ARNA pp. 47-48 (G p. 63) varies somewhat, especially in adding the clause "lest you decide something not in accord with the teaching of the Torah."

Albeck (IV, p. 355, note) says that "evil waters" is a name for wrong opinions. See A p. 48 (G p. 63) and Schechter, note 38 to A p. 48. In PA 1:4 learning is compared with drinking.

²⁴ In view of the mention of exile in the saying, evil waters are here interpreted as the gentile nations among whom Israel had to live. These nations encourage Israel to adhere to false opinions. We have here an implicit argument for the supremacy of the land of Israel over other lands (e.g., Babylon) for the study of Torah.

²⁵ Ms. R reads: "destruction" (*l'bw'd*); Ms. P: *l'ybw'd*. But A p. 48 reads "labor" (*l'bw'dh*). Schechter suggests *l's'bw'd*. The state of hard labor in exile fits the context better than simple death.

²⁶ I translate Ms. P which has Shammai. Ms. R has Hillel. Hag 2:2 records the same sentence with Shammai's name. The immediate mention of Shammai in the next sentence might have caused confusion.

For identification of Menahem, see Derenbourg, pp. 464-65. He may be the Essene who predicted Herod's reign in Josephus, *Ant.* XV, 10, 5. The Talmuds offer different opinions about why he left (Hag 16b; JerHag 2:2 (77d)), some of which do not seem proper to an Essene.

Finkelstein (*Akiba*, p. 298) lists Menahem with the conservatives. The accession of Shammai sets the stage for the treatment of Shammai and Hillel in the following chapters. See also J. Rosenthal, "The Identity of Menahem," *Sinai* 56/57 (1965).

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

SHAMMAI SAYS :¹ MAKE YOUR (STUDY OF) TORAH A FIXED PRACTICE : SAY LITTLE AND DO MUCH : AND RECEIVE ALL MEN WITH A CHEERFUL COUNTEenance.

MAKE YOUR (STUDY OF) TORAH A FIXED PRACTICE, so that you are not lenient with yourself and strict with others or lenient with others and strict with yourself. Rather even as you are lenient with yourself, so be lenient with others and as you are strict with yourself, so be strict with others, as Scripture says : "For Ezra had set his heart to study the law of the Lord, and to do it, and after that to teach his statutes and ordinances in Israel (Ez. 7:10)."²

SAY LITTLE AND DO MUCH. The just say little and do much, as we find was the case with Abraham our father, may he rest in peace, when the angels came to him.³ What does Scripture say : "Let a little water be brought, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree, while I fetch a morsel of bread, that you may refresh yourselves, and after that you may pass on—since you have come to your servant (Gen. 18:4-5)." Scripture teaches that he baked for them nine measures of meal and slaughtered for them three beasts. And where does Scripture

¹ This chapter does not begin with the regular introductory sentence (found in PA 1:12 and ARNA p. 48; G p. 63) : "Hillel and Shammai received it (the Torah) from them." Further, PA and ARNA place Hillel before Shammai, while ARNB treats the sayings of Shammai first. Finkelstein (*JBL* 57 [1938] 17-18) says that ARNB's order is original and is one of the indications that the first chapter of PA was originally a Shammaitic document. For further comment, see Schechter, n. 1 here and for a further example of the order Shammai-Hillel, see Ch. 46 (p. 128) below.

The absence of the introductory phrase may be explained through homoeoteleuton, as in Ms. R at Ch. 16. Or, if Shammai and Hillel were added to the list after it was originally composed, some confusion may have attended that addition.

² This paragraph interprets the word *qb'*. In the original saying, as translated above, *qb'* probably refers to a regular study of Torah. *qb'* can also mean a set time or a mechanical act. Here in B, however, *qb'* means "equal and consistent" and refers to interpretation of the halaka. One must interpret equally for himself and others. In A p. 56 (G p. 72) *qb'* means "carefully and accurately" —one should carefully and accurately learn what is taught and then practice it and teach it to others. See also Schechter, A p. 56, n. 3.

³ Abraham is the best example of saying little and doing much. This incident begins in Gen. 18:1, just after Abraham was circumcised. See A p. 57 (G p. 72). See also Ch. 14 (p. 33) where Abraham's hospitality was praised by God as greater than Job's.

say that he baked for them nine measures? It says: "Three measures of fine meal (Gen. 18:6)." That is three. "Knead it, and make cakes (Gen. 18:6)." That is six.⁴ Scripture teaches that he made three other kinds of honeycakes. And where does Scripture say that he slaughtered for them three beasts? It says: "And Abraham ran to the herd, and took a calf (*bn bqr*) ... (Gen. 18:7)." *Bn* refers to a three year old calf, "tender" refers to a two year old calf, "good" refers to a one year old calf.⁵ "And gave it to the lad." This is Ishmael who was being introduced to observance of the commandments.⁶

The wicked say much and do little, for you find this the case with Balak who said to Balaam: "Let nothing hinder you from coming to me; for I will surely do you great honor... (Num. 22:17)." And Scripture says: "And Balak sacrificed oxen and sheep.. (Num. 22:40)." What did he sacrifice in Balaam's name? A beaten up calf from the herd and a beaten up sheep from the flock.⁷ "And sent to Balaam and the princes who were with him (Num 22:40)." What did he send in Balaam's name? A thigh of a calf and not the whole calf; a thigh of a sheep and not the whole sheep. And finally, Balak turned and cursed him, as Scripture says: "Therefore now flee to your place; I said,

⁴ This phrase means either that "knead" and "make cakes" equal six more measures of meal, for a total of nine; or that they together equal three more for a total of six and then the three honey cakes below make nine. The first solution fits the verse and its three parts. However, if some editor accepted the second solution, then he needed three more cakes to make nine and he added the honey cakes. BerRab 48:12 and A p. 57 (G p. 72) base the nine measures on "three", "meal", and "fine". See T-A, pp. 489-90 for a note and further parallels. In BerRab, both the second item, *hbys*, and the third, *mlwmyh* (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 340), contain honey. The exact types of cakes involved were not rigidly fixed, it appears. See Schechter, note 3.

⁵ See BabMez 86b, BerRab 48:13 (T-A, p. 490) and B p. 124 (Ch. 45) for the same interpretation of Gen. 18:7. Contrast A p. 57 (G p. 72) which contains an alternate tradition, much like B's alternate tradition in regard to the nine measures of flour (see the previous note). BabMez 87a and TanBub, *Balak*, p. 140 draw the conclusion of this section, that the good say little and do much and the evil say much and do little. As the negative example BabMez uses Ephron (like ARNA) and TanBub uses Balak (like ARNB).

⁶ This final comment on Ishmael is found in A and in BerRab 48:13 (T-A, p. 490). It shows that the tradition in ARN is drawing on an interpretation of the verse in Genesis and fitting it to his own use.

⁷ The word "beaten up" is from Mss. P and H (*whskuph*). The Bible does not give a clear basis for saying that the sacrifices were blemished. But see Tan, *Balak*, 11 and TanBub, *Num.*, p. 140 where we find the tradition that Balaam broke their teeth before offering them.

'I will certainly honor you,' but the Lord has held you back from honor (Num. 24:11).''⁸

AND RECEIVE ALL MEN WITH A CHEERFUL COUNTENANCE. A parable. If a man should give his friend much money and not have a genial countenance,⁹ it is as though he gave him nothing at all. If a man did not give his friend anything at all, but does show a genial countenance, it is as though he gave him much money. In the same way it is said : AND RECEIVE ALL MEN WITH A CHEERFUL COUNTENANCE.¹⁰

⁸ In the end Balaam could not curse Israel, and so Balak, who had promised him much, did not give him anything. For Balaam's ill success, see Ch. 34 (p. 76) and note 22; Ch. 45 (p. 125).

⁹ *Pnym pšwlym* means literally "straight (or flat) countenance." In the Near East a long or straight countenance is friendly, as opposed to a compressed, angry countenance. This phrase has the same meaning as *pnym ypwš* in the lemma. Cf. Ben-Yehuda, X, p. 5263. Cf. *yā pšwth* on p. 68 (Ch. 31, n. 36.)

¹⁰ A p. 57 (G p. 73).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

HILLEL SAYS : BE OF THE DISCIPLES OF AARON, LOVING PEACE AND PURSUING PEACE, LOVING MANKIND AND DRAWING THEM TO THE TORAH.¹

BE OF THE DISCIPLES OF AARON. That is, humble the way Aaron was, as Scripture says : "Seek the Lord, all you humble of the land, who do his commands... (Zeph. 2:3)." And similarly it says : "The reward for humility and fear of the Lord is riches and honor and life (Prov. 22:4)." And it says : "But the humble shall possess the land, and delight themselves in abundant prosperity (Ps. 37:11)."²

Another interpretation. LOVING PEACE AND PURSUING PEACE.³ This is to teach you that Scripture accounts it to one who brings peace upon earth as though he had done it in the high heaven. As Scripture says (of God) : "Dominion and fear are with Him; he makes peace in His high heaven (Job 25:2)." But is there a quarrel on high? Rather Scripture teaches you that it is accounted to everyone who brings peace upon earth as though he had done it in the high heaven, as Scripture says of God : "Dominion and fear are with Him; he makes peace in His high heaven (Job 25:2)."⁴ And so you say :⁵ The Holy One,

¹ Hillel's first saying in identical in PA 1:12, ARNA and B. Version A (p. 48; G p. 63) also quotes Hillel's other two saying (PA 1:13-14) along with his first at the beginning of Ch. 12. In ARNB the first two clauses of the saying are treated in Chs. 24 and 25; the last two in Ch. 26.

² For the connection of humility and domestic peace, see Ch. 14, note 8. The characteristic of Aaron developed below is peace; the humility pictured here fits this picture. In a chain of virtues humility is the greatest (*Kallah Rabbati*, ed. M. Higger, 2:6, pp. 198-99).

³ The expression "another interpretation" is mistaken here, since this is the first interpretation of "Loving peace and pursuing peace." Perhaps the interpretation came with the introductory phrase from another place where it was a second or later interpretation. Note that the rest of the chapter is a paean to peace.

Sanh 6b says that Aaron loved peace and pursued peace and quotes Mal. 2:6; this links the first and second phrases of Hillel's saying. ARNA (p. 48; G p. 63; and p. 51; G p. 67) restricts this peacemaking effort to Israel and excludes Gentiles.

⁴ We know that there are no quarrels in heaven like those we have on earth. Why, then, does Job 25:2 speak of God's dominion and fear and his making peace in heaven? This verse teaches us that bringing peace on earth, where it is really needed, is so meritorious that it is the same as bringing peace in heaven itself.

In SifreNum 24 (Horovitz, p. 47) God is said to make peace in heaven, not because it is needed, but only to teach us the value of making peace on earth. In PRK 1:3 (p. 5)

p. 49 blessed be He, did not create a hundred Michaels and a hundred Gabriels, but only one Michael and one Gabriel so that whenever he calls them, the angel comes running and carries out his mission.⁶ And so Scripture says: "There was hail, and fire flashing continually in the midst of the hail... (Ex. 9:24)." The fire does not harm the hail and the hail does not harm the fire. In the same way⁷, God created angels of fire and angels of hail and they do not harm each other.⁸

Another interpretation. LOVING PEACE AND PURSUING PEACE⁹. Even though you run after it from town to town and city to city and province to province, do not cease bringing peace because it is equal to all the commandments of the Torah (put together).

Abnimos the Gadarene¹⁰ asked Rabban Gamaliel: What is the first born of the world?¹¹ He answered: Peace. He asked: Where is this taught? He answered: It is said: "He who forms light and creates darkness, who makes peace" and creates all things.¹² After God created

Michael is identified with dominion and Gabriel with fear. In all the sources God's making peace is referred to relations between angels. See Ch. 8, note 15, where God makes peace between Adam and the angels; Job 25:2 is used.

⁵ See Schechter, note 4. Mss. R and H have: "And thus *he* says."

⁶ As further proof that there is no conflict in heaven the author adduces God's giving each angel his own name. Note NumRab 12:8 and SongRab 3:11 where in a slightly different context the phrase of the verse "are with God" is interpreted to mean that Michael and Gabriel are each totally devoted to God and do not conflict or harm one another. This section seems to have a similar point. See also A p. 51 (G p. 67).

⁷ Hebrew: *lpykk* which means literally: "therefore." See Schechter, n. 6 for other suggestions.

⁸ See PRK 1:3 (pp. 5-6) for a series of comparisons like this. Also NumRab 12:8 and SongRab 3:11. The rabbis continually wondered how both hail and fire could coexist together and worked out similes how the one existed inside the other.

⁹ This comment concerns pursuing peace. In A p. 51 (G p. 67) it occurs in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar and with Ps. 34:15 (which occurs below in B). See also Sifra 111a (top) and Yalkut I, 672. Bringing peace is praised in Mish Peah 1:1.

¹⁰ For Abnimos of Gadara, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, pp. 6-7 and Jastrow, p. 8, col. 1. Abnimos is a pagan philosopher who asks questions of the rabbis, especially Meir, in BerRab 65:20 (T-A, pp. 734-35); LamRab, Intro. 2; ExRab 13:1; RuthRab 1:8. Jastrow suggests that he may be the cynic philosopher Oenomaus of Gadara. See OCD, p. 619.

¹¹ Ms. P has "first born" (*bkwr*); Ūs. R has "glory" (*kwd*). Both are similar in Hebrew writing. The reading in P fits the context better, so I have followed it. SifreNum 42 (Horovitz, p. 47) comments "[peace] is equal to the the whole act of creation" (*kl m'sh br'syt*). Later literature has God as the "first born" of the world (Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 27, n. 1).

¹² "It is said" introduces Scriptural quotes. Is. 45:7 reads like this, except that it ends "and creates woe." But the blessing said before praying the Shema is identical

peace, he then created all things. And similarly Scripture says : "Depart from evil, and do good ; seek peace, and pursue it (Ps. 34:15)."¹³

Rabbi Jose says : If a man sits in his house and does not go out to the marketplace, how can he bring peace among men. But because he goes out into the marketplace, he sees men fighting, steps between them and arbitrates.¹⁴

Concerning [all]¹⁵ the commandments in the Torah what does Scripture say ? "If you chance to come upon a bird's nest in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs and the mother sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, you shall not take the mother with the young ; you shall let the mother go, but the young you may take to yourself... (Dt. 22:6-7)." "If you meet your enemy's ox or his ass going astray, you shall bring it back to him. If you see the ass of one who hates you lying under its burden, you shall refrain from leaving him with it, you shall help him to lift it up (Ex. 23:4-5)." This is a commandment you are obliged to keep when the opportunity presents itself.¹⁶

Another interpretation. BE OF THE DISCIPLES OF AARON.¹⁷ This teaches that Aaron used to greet the rebellious people of Israel. Now whenever one of them wanted to commit a transgression, he would say to himself : Woe is me. Tomorrow Aaron will come and greet me. How shall I return his greeting ? So he would be ashamed and not sin.¹⁸

to the text we have here (Singer, *Prayer Book*, p. 38). In Sifra 111a (top) Yalkut I, 672, and here a copyist has substituted the very familiar blessing, which he recited daily, for the Scriptural verse. And then in ARNB he interprets the blessing in the sentence immediately following, relying precisely on the changed phrase. Mid Ha-Gadol, *Lev.*, p. 658 keeps the correct Isaiah text.

¹³ This verse is the closest one in Scripture to Hillel's saying. In A it occurs in a different context. See note 8 above.

¹⁴ A p. 51 (G p. 67) in the name of Simeon ben Eleazar. Ms. R reads *mpšrm*, the reading which we follow. Ms. P has *mšprn* : reconciles them.

For a parallel see *Kallah Rabbati* (ed. M. Higger), Ch 3, p. 216.

¹⁵ Mss. P and R lack the word "all".

¹⁶ This paragraph implicitly contrasts three commandments which one must fulfill only when the occasion presents itself to the mandate to *pursue* peace. See N (in Schechter, n. 12) and LevRab 9:9 (Margulies, p. 187) which conclude with : "And if not, you are not obliged to keep it ; but here 'Seek peace and pursue it (Ps. 34:15). Seek it in your own own place and pursue it to another place.'" For this last sentence, see A p. 51 (G p. 67). Perhaps a similar ending has been presumed or omitted in B.

¹⁷ We return to the lemma which began the chapter. Schechter (p. 170) suggests that we omit "another interpretation" because there is no interpretation of this clause (immediately) preceding. But the clause has been treated previously on p. 48 and so I retain "another interpretation."

¹⁸ This occurs in A p. 48 (G p. 64) in the name of Rabbi Meir.

Likewise when a man was angry with another, Aaron would go to him
 p. 50 and say to him : My son, why did you get angry with your neighbor ?
 He came to me just now crying and bent in supplication¹⁹ saying :
 "Woe is me ! I quarreled with my friend who is greater than I. So I
 will stand in the market place ; you go and intercede for me with him."
 Then Aaron would leave that one and go to the other and say to him :
 My son, why did you get angry with your neighbor ? He came to me
 just now, etc. When they would go out to the marketplace and meet
 each other, they would embrace and kiss each other. All his life Aaron
 acted this way until he brought peace among men.²⁰ And likewise, if a
 man was angry with his wife and threw her out of his house, Aaron used
 to go to him and say : My son, why are you angry with your wife ?
 He would say : Because she offended me. He would say to him : I
 vouch for her that she will not offend you anymore from now on.
 Then he would go to the man's wife and say to her : My daughter,
 why are you angry with your husband. She would say : Because he
 struck me and cursed me. He would say to her : I vouch for him that he
 will not strike you or curse you anymore from now on. All his life
 Aaron acted this way—until he brought the woman back to her hus-
 band's house. Then the woman would become pregnant, bear a son and
 say : This son was given to me only by the merit of Aaron.²¹ And some
 say that more than three thousand of Israel were named Aaron. When
 he died, more than twenty-four thousand children and grandchildren
 bared (their shoulders)²² around his bier. For this reason Scripture
 says : "All the house of Israel wept for Aaron thirty days (Num.
 20:29)."²³

¹⁹ Schechter suggests *mtḥrt* (full of regret), but Mss. R, P, H and MhM, IV, p. 551 all have *mtḥnn*.

²⁰ See A pp. 48-49 (G p. 64) and *Kallah Rabbati* (ed. Michael Higger), Ch. 3, pp. 216-17.

²¹ This occurs in A p. 49 (G p. 64) in a brief form.

²² I read with Ms. P, Schechter and MhM, IV, p. 552 *ḥlṣw* and connect it to BabKam 17a which has *ḥlṣy ktp* (men with bared shoulders). The mourning children would have torn their garments and left their shoulders bare.

²³ This final comment helps the transition to the next chapter, where similar thoughts are continued.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

What does Scripture say about Moses?¹ “And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days... (Dt. 34:8).” What does Scripture say about Aaron? “And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, all the house of Israel wept for Aaron thirty days (Num 20:29).” Why did all Israel weep for Aaron and only part of Israel weep for Moses? This happened because Moses was a judge and one cannot decide a case in favor of both litigants equally; one must acquit the innocent and convict the guilty. Aaron was not a judge; rather, he brought peace among men. Consequently, all Israel wept for Aaron, but only part of Israel wept for Moses.²

Why did all Israel weep for Aaron and only part of Israel weep for Moses? This happened because when Aaron died Moses stripped off his garments and clothed Eleazar, Aaron’s son, with them, as Scripture says: “And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them on Eleazar his son... (Num. 20:28).” Consequently, all Israel mourned Aaron, but only part of Israel mourned Moses.³

- p. 51 Why did all Israel weep for Aaron and all Israel not weep for Moses? This happened because when Aaron died, Moses and Eleazar descended from the mountain weeping and mourning with their garments torn. Who could see this and not mourn with them. When Moses died, in whose presence could they mourn? Consequently, when Aaron died, all Israel mourned him, but only part of Israel mourned Moses.

When⁴ Aaron died, the clouds of glory withdrew⁵ and all the nations of the world could see Israel dwelling by tribes, as Scripture says:

¹ Continuing the final thought of the last chapter the author is led to compare Aaron’s death to Moses’, at Moses’ expense. But each time the comparison is made in the following paragraphs, an extenuating circumstance is offered as explanation of why Moses received less honor than Aaron. We have here an ambivalent attitude, comparable to that articulated by J. Goldin, in the *Mordecai Kaplan Jubilee*, Eng. Vol. (New York, 1953), pp. 278-90. See also Ch. 1, notes 1 and 5. For a further parallel, see Kallah Rabbati (ed. M. Higger) Ch. 3, p. 217.

² For a brief version of this see A p. 49 (G p. 64). For Aaron’s efforts at reconciliation, see the previous chapter.

³ Perhaps this passage means that the people’s grief was sharpened because they saw Aaron’s replacement in his official robes and realized that Aaron was gone for good.

⁴ Schechter begins this sentence with *w’wd* in brackets. I omit this.

⁵ See *Legends*, III, pp. 48-49; VI, pp. 19-20, n. 113.

“When all the congregation saw... (Num. 20:20).” What does Scripture say? “Saw.” Rather, “were frightened.”⁶ Consequently, all Israel mourned Aaron, but only part of Israel mourned Moses.⁷

When Israel saw the bier of Aaron spread with all the glory of the world⁸ and the ministering angels standing mourning with garments torn, at that moment all the people of Israel knew that Aaron was dead.⁹

When Moses saw the bier of Aaron spread and the ministering angels standing mourning, he was overcome with a desire for the same kind of death, as Scripture says: “And die on the mountain which you ascend, and be gathered to your people, as Aaron your brother died in Mount Hor and was gathered to his people... (Dt. 32:50).” With the same death, which you desired.¹⁰

When the appointed time came for Moses to depart from the world, the angel of death came and stood opposite him. He became angry and dismissed the angel of death with a rebuke.¹¹ He said: If you could not

⁶ The change in the Scriptural quote is from the verb *r'h* (see) to *yr'* (fear). The consonants of the two forms used here are identical but the meaning “fear” explains why all mourned Aaron.

In RH 3a we are told that because the cloud of glory lifted at Aaron's death (Num. 33:38-39) the hostile king of Arad was able to see and attack Israel (Num. 33:40). In NumRab 19:20 Aaron dies (Num. 20:29) and then in Num. 21:1 the king of Arad attacks, again because the cloud of glory which had hidden the people of Israel rose and revealed their position. The clouds of glory were given to Israel because of the merit of Aaron. See Sifre Dt 305 (Finkelstein, p. 326) and the parallels listed there. In addition, Yalkut, I, p. 787 speaks of the clouds of glory covering Aaron at his death. The story of Aaron's death is given in greater detail in Yalkut, I, 787 (Beginning) and the late *Petirat Aharon* in Jellinek, I, pp. 91-95.

⁷ The rising of the clouds of glory makes the people mourn more because they realize how much they depended on Aaron and what their danger is. Note that no explicit comparison is made between Aaron's and Moses' death in this paragraph or in the following ones.

⁸ See Mech (Lauterbach, II, pp. 172 and 185 for this expression.

⁹ This paragraph may imply a comparison with Moses' death, which was witnessed only by God, but no explicit comparison is made. The paragraph may simply reinforce Aaron's importance and explain how all Israel mourned him. An addition to this story gives further motivation to the showing of Aaron's bier to the people. When Moses and Eleazar came down from Mt. Hor the people accused them of murdering Aaron; so to exonerate them God showed the people Aaron's bier. See Tan, *Hukkat*, 17; TanBub, Num., p. 124; PRE 17; NumRab 20:20; SifreDt 305 (Finkelstein, p. 326)

¹⁰ See A p. 49-50 (G p. 65) and SifreDt 339 (Finkelstein, p. 389); Sifre Zuta (Horovitz, p. 315).

¹¹ For this expression see S. Lieberman “Six Words from Qohelet Rabbah,” *Essays in Jewish History and Philology* (Alon Memorial Volume), p. 231.

oppose¹² my mission, how can you ask me to hand over to you my soul? If you could not stand when I was sitting, how can you ask me to hand over my soul to you?¹³ The angel of death went to the Almighty and said to Him: Master of the World, Moses your servant does not want to hand over his soul to me. Moses went to the Almighty and said: Master of the Worlds, tell me what kind of death I am to die. If it is because of the previous incident,¹⁴ it has already been decreed about me that I shall not enter the land. God forbid that guilt should (still) be found on my hands.¹⁵ The holy spirit answered him and said: Moses, I swear:¹⁶ There is no guilt on your hands. You are dying only because of the decree concerning Adam, as Scripture says: "Your first father sinned... (Is. 43:27)."

God announced to Moses that he was taking his soul in this life and returning it to him in the world to come.¹⁷ The Holy One, blessed be He, took Moses' soul and put it with the souls of the just under the throne of glory¹⁸ so he can glorify and praise God, as Scripture says: "Let the faithful exult in glory; let them sing for joy on their couches. Let the high praises of God be in their throats and two-edged swords in their hands, to wreak vengeance on the nations and chastisement on the peoples, to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters

¹² The exact sense of 'md b is not clear. It might mean that the angel of death could not have done what Moses did, that is, receive Torah (see the following note). A better meaning seems to be "oppose". Moses was opposed by angels when he went to receive the Torah in heaven (*Legends*, III, pp. 109-19). Also, when Israel accepted the Torah, the angel of death lost all power over them (*Mech. to 20:16* [Lauterbach, II, pp. 271-72]; *Legends*, III, pp. 120 & 128; VI, p. 44, n. 238).

¹³ This probably refers to Moses sitting down on Mt. Sinai to receive the Torah from God. Because of this role given to Moses, his stature is so great that the angel of death cannot take his soul. For Moses' conflict with the angel of death, see A p. 50 (G p. 65); *SifreDt* 305 (Finkelstein, p. 326); *DtRab* 11:5 and 10; *Legends*, III, pp. 466-71; VI, p. 168, n. 947. We are not told of this here, but God Himself eventually takes Moses' soul with a kiss (A p. 50 [G p. 65]; *BabBat* 17a).

¹⁴ In "the previous incident" Moses struck the rock to get water (*Num.* 20:1-13) and was forbidden to enter the promised land because of his distrust.

¹⁵ Moses is worried about some other sin he may have unknowingly committed.

¹⁶ See Ch. 13, end and note 31 for the same oath formula.

¹⁷ This paragraph presents a different and complementary version of Moses' death. It does not mention how God took Moses' soul (see note 10 above).

¹⁸ See also A p. 50 (G pp. 65-66) for the depositing of Moses' soul under the throne of glory. In *Shab* 152b we are told that the souls of the just are deposited under it. The souls of the just are kept in a treasury in the seventh heaven according to *Hag* 12b. See further *SifreDt* 344 (Finkelstein, p. 401); *Legends*, I, p. 10; V, pp. 10-11, n. 22; *Moore*, I, p. 368; II, pp. 389-90.

of iron, to execute on them the judgment written ! This is glory for all his faithful ones (Ps. 149:5-9)."

When Israel saw the bier of Moses spread with all the glory of the world upon the wings of the Shekinah,¹⁹ it was in the four mile area from the territory of the Reubenites toward the Gadites,²⁰ as Scripture says : "Ascend this mountain of the Abarim, Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, opposite Jericho... (Dt. 32:49)." Where do we learn that he died in the territory of Reuben ? Scripture says : "And the sons of Reuben built Heshbon, Eleaich, Kiriathaim, Nebo and Baal-meor... (Num. 32:37-38)." And where do we learn that he was buried in the territory of the Gadites ? Scripture says : "And of Gad he said, 'Blessed be he who enlarged Gad ! Gad couches like a lion, he tears the arm, and the crown of the head. He chose the best of the land for himself, for there a commander's portion was reserved and he came to the heads of the people, with Israel he executed the commands and just decrees of the Lord (Dt. 33:20-21).'"

The angel of death began again seeking the soul of Moses;²¹ he said : I know that God said to him : "Come up to me on the mountain... (Ex. 24:12)." He went to Mount Sinai and said : Is the soul of Moses perhaps here ? The mountain said to him : He captured from me Torah, which refreshes the soul, as Scripture says : "The law of the Lord is perfect, reviving the soul... (Ps. 19:8)."

He said I know that the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him : "Lift up your rod, and stretch out your hand over the sea and divide it... (Ex. 14:16)." He went to the sea and said : Is the soul of Moses perhaps here. It said to him : No, because Scripture says : "He divided the sea and let them pass through it... (Ps. 78:13)."²²

¹⁹ Moses went up Mount Nebo alone and no one knows where he was buried. Hence, for the people to see Moses was a special act of God. He was seen as he was carried to his burial place (see the next note and especially SifreDt 355 [Finkelstein, p. 417]). Other sources record that a voice was heard throughout the camp announcing Moses' death (SifreDt 357 [Finkelstein, pp. 427-28]).

²⁰ Mount Nebo, where Moses died, is on the edge of the territory of Reuben (see Dt. 32:49 and Num. 32:37) but Dt 32:21 shows that Moses is buried in the territory of Gad. Therefore the Rabbis taught that God carried Moses from Nebo in Reuben to a spot four miles north in Gad and buried him there. See SifreDt 355 (Finkelstein, pp. 417-18); SifreNum 106 (Horovitz, p. 105); MidTan, p. 225; Sot 13b; TosSot 4:8; JerSot Ch 1, end.

²¹ This final story of the angel of death's search for Moses seems to be set after God himself has taken Moses' soul. See A pp. 50-51 (G p. 66); SifreDt 305 (Finkelstein, pp. 326-27); MidTan, pp. 224-225. See also Satan's similar search for Torah in Shab 89a.

²² Since Israel and Moses passed through the sea, Moses is no longer there.

He said : I know that he is standing and beseeching to enter the land of Israel, because Scripture says : And I besought the Lord... (Dt. 3:23).” “Let me go over, I pray, and see the good land beyond the Jordan, that goodly hill country, and the Lebanon (Dt. 3:25).” The good land refers to the land of Israel. “That goodly hill country” refers to the King’s Mount.²³ “The Lebanon” refers to the Temple. Why is its name called Lebanon ? Because it cleanses the iniquities of Israel.²⁴ The angel of death went to the land of Israel and said to it : Is the soul of Moses perhaps here ? It answered him : No, because Scripture says : “It is not found in the land of the living (Job 28:13).”²⁵

He went to the clouds of glory and said to them : “Is the soul of Moses perhaps here ? They answered him : “It is hid from the eyes of all living... (Job 28:21).”²⁶

He went to the ministering angels. They said to him : No, because Scripture says : “It is concealed from the birds of the air (Job 28:21).”²⁷

He went to the deep. It said to him : No, because Scripture says : “The deep says, ‘It is not in me...’ (Job 28:14).”

He went to Sheol and Abaddon and said to them : Is the soul of Moses perhaps here ? They said to him : No. Abba²⁸ used to interpret in the name of Rabbi Simeon ben Jose and say : “Abaddon and Death

²³ The king’s mount is perhaps that part of Jerusalem where the king lived. See 2 Sam. 7:1-3.

²⁴ Lebanon means “white” (*lbn*) and since the Temple cleanses (whitens) and is on a mountain, it is called Lebanon. These interpretations of Dt. 3:25 are independent and brought here by association. See Mech (Lauterbach, II, p. 151); MechRS on 17:14 (p. 124); and SifreNum 135 (Horovitz, p. 181). The essential point here is merely that Moses wants to enter the promised land. For Lebanon as the Temple, see Ch. 6, n. 14.

²⁵ The land of Israel as the land of the living is one of a list of twelve things called living in ARNB pp. 121-22 and of a list of ten in ARNA p. 103 (G pp. 142-43).

Note that most of the following Scriptural quotes come from Job 28, where Scripture is speaking of wisdom. A pp. 50-51 (G p. 66) uses Job 28 in a similar context. See Goldin’s note 16 to Ch. 12 there. Wisdom often equals Torah and then Torah is identified with the one who taught it to Israel, Moses.

²⁶ The clouds of glory hid Israel (and others) from the eyes of men. See note 5 above and JE, IV, p. 122. So it is appropriate that the clouds, which hide things, tell the angel of death that Moses’ soul is hidden from the eyes of all the living. See note 22 for identification of Moses with “wisdom” mentioned in the Job verse.

²⁷ See MidTan, p. 225 where it is explained that the ministering angels are called *m’wppyn*, a word from the same root (*wp*) as birds (*m’wp*) here. See Ch. 8, note 19.

²⁸ Abba was an Amora of the third generation who settled in Palestine (Strack, p. 126; Hyman, *Toledot*, I, pp. 2-8). Simeon ben Jose was a contemporary Rabbi. The only other Amora quoted in ARNB are Rabbi Jannai Ch. 33 (p. 73) and Rabbi Jeremiah in Ch. 36 (p. 90).

say, 'We have heard a rumor of it with our ears' (Job 28:22)." With our ears we heard, but we did not see.²⁹

The ministering angels, section by section and group by group acclaimed³⁰ Moses before his bier, and said : "Let him enter into peace ; they rest in their beds who walk in their uprightness (Is. 57:2)."

²⁹ The point in this paragraph is that Moses is not in Sheol and Death has only heard rumor (of his death).

Abaddon occurs several times in the Bible and means ruin, destruction, that is, something like our concept of hell.

³⁰ For the Greek origin of *qls* meaning acclaim, see S. Lieberman, "*qls, qylwsyn*" in *Alei Ayin, Salman Schocken Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1948-52), pp. 75-81.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

LOVING MANKIND.¹ A man must love his neighbor and honor him.² Can this not be inferred? If the ministering angels, who do not have the evil impulse, honor each other, then is it not reasonable that human beings who have the evil impulse should all the more honor each other?³ Where does Scripture say that the ministering angels honor each other? It says: "And one called to the other and said... (Is. 6:3)." What does Scripture teach by "And said"?⁴ This means that one says to the other: You are greater than I; you begin with the praise of God first. But some say that the ministering angels do this section by section. One section says to another: your section is greater than ours; you begin with the praise of God first.⁵

In the Scroll of the Pious⁶ it says: If you want to join to yourself a friend, act for his benefit.⁷ Just as a man cannot speak of the short-

¹ Mss. R and P read: "Loving peace and pursuing peace," as in the previous clause of the saying and in Ps. 34:15. This is a scribal error. The correct lemma for this chapter is "Loving mankind".

² See Rabbi Eliezer's saying: "Let the honor of your fellow be as dear to you as your own (PA 2:10; A pp. 59-60 [G p. 78]; B pp. 59-60)."

³ The angels, who have no faults or base desires, still defer to one another and show respect. Men, who have an evil side to them, should be even more self-effacing and careful in dealing with each other.

⁴ The repetition of a verb of speaking means that something more was said than is recorded in the Biblical text.

⁵ The second opinion has the angels acting by sections, as they did at the end of the last chapter when they mourned Moses. In Is. 6 the angels praise God antiphonally.

⁶ "The Scroll of the Pious" is no longer extant. It is referred to under this name in Sifre (ed. Friedmann) 84a; JerBer9 (13d); and MidSam 21b. The Yalkut to Dt. 11:22 and the Minhag (ed. Berlin 6, as quoted by Hoffmann in MidTan, p. vii) read "The Scroll of the Setharim (*strym*)."⁷ Lieberman (*Hellenism*, p. 87) says that scrolls of *strym* were private scrolls on which halakot were written. MidTan, p. 24 and SifreDt (ed. Finkelstein), p. 112, both accept the reading *hrysym* as original (see Hoffmann, Introduction to MidTan, pp. vii-viii). Hoffmann suggests further that the meaning of this word is "watcher" or "guardian". He adduces Arabic and the uses of *hrs* in rabbinic literature as proof of this meaning and contends that the work was Essene. Enelow, in MhM, IV, p. 314, note to l. 14 f. thinks that the Scroll of the Pious might be Derek Erez Zuta.

See below ARNB p. 56 (and note 26), which refers to a book called the Halakot of the Pious. These two works do not seem to be related.

⁷ This saying from the Scroll of the Pious is quoted in Kallah Rabbati (ed. M. Higger 4:10 (p. 258) which then uses Lev. 19:18 (see note 9 below) to show that a friend becomes like you. This chapter is also part of Derek Erez Zuta 2 (ed. Higger, pp. 81-82).

comings of his friend in his presence, so he cannot speak his praise, as Scripture says : "He who blesses his neighbor with a loud voice... will be counted as cursing (Prov. 27:14)."⁸

- p. 53 A story is told of a man who came to Rabbi Akiba.⁹ He said to him : Rabbi, teach me the whole Torah all at once. He answered him : My son, our master Moses, may he rest in peace, spent forty days and forty nights on Mount (Sinai) before he learned it. And you say : Teach me the whole Torah all at once. But, my son, this is the (fundamental) principle of the Torah :¹⁰ What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man. If (you) do not want a man to hurt you or what is yours,¹¹ then you too should not hurt him. If you want a man not to take what is yours, then you should not take what belongs to your fellowman.

A man got together with his neighbors ; they went and found a field full of bundles (of stalks).¹² This one took two bunches, that one two and he took none. They went and found another field full of cabbages. This one took two cabbages, that one two and he took none. They said to him : Why are you not taking anything ? He answered : Rabbi Akiba taught me this : What you do not like for yourself do not do to your fellowman. If you do not want a man to hurt you, then you too should not hurt him. If you do not want a man to take what is yours, then you should not take what belongs to him.¹³

Rabbi Hanina, the Prefect of the Priests, says : An oath from Mount Sinai has been sworn on (this) saying upon which the whole world depends :¹⁴ If (you) hate your fellowman whose deeds are evil like yours, I the Lord am judge to punish that same man and if you love

⁸ See also Ch. 22 (p. 47) which has a similar idea and quotes Prov. 27:14.

⁹ For a similar story told of Hillel, see Shab 31a, where Lev. 19:18 is quoted. See also BerRab 24:7 (T-A, p. p. 237) where Akiba also argues on the basis of Lev. 18:18 against putting others to shame.

¹⁰ *kl* (here : fundamental principle) is literally : "the general statement", that is, the universal rule. It is what we call "the golden rule".

¹¹ "... hurt you or what is yours" (*'t šlk yzyqk 'dm 't šlk*) is an awkward anticipatory dative construction.

¹² Perhaps this refers to bunches of some vegetable or to bundles of wheat. According to Ben Yehuda (III, p. 1326) *zyr* (1)" refers to a bundle of grasses, that is, wheat, etc.

¹³ See B pp. 60, ll. 2-4 ; 65, ll. 6-7 ; 71, ll. 2-4 for the same saying.

¹⁴ The more important the object upon which an oath is sworn, the more solemn the oath. God has guaranteed the importance of the saying here with a solemn oath, that is, one from Mount Sinai.

your neighbor whose deeds are proper like your own, I the Lord am faithful and merciful toward you.¹⁵ AND LOVING MANKIND.¹⁶

AND DRAWING THEM TO THE STUDY OF TORAH.¹⁷ Everyone who brings one person under the wings of heaven,¹⁸ God accounts it as though he created him and formed him, as Scripture says: "If you bring forth what is precious from the vile, you shall be as my mouth (Jer. 15:19)."¹⁹ Like my mouth which breathed a soul into Adam.

- p. 54 A story is told about Hillel the elder, that he was standing at the entrance to Jerusalem and people were going out to their jobs. He said to them: For how much are you working today. This one said to him: For a dinar. That one: For two dinars. He said to them: What do you do with this money? They answered: We provide for daily life²⁰ with them. He said to them: Why do you not come and inherit Torah so that you may inherit life in this world and life in the world to come. In this way Hillel used to act during all his life until he brought them under the wings of heaven.²¹

Another interpretation. To everyone who brings one person under the wings of heaven, God accounts it as though he created him and formed him, as Scripture says: "And the persons that they had made in Haran... (Gen. 12:5)." Did Abraham, our father, may he rest in peace, create them or form them? If all the creatures in the world came (together) to create a single mosquito, they could not. If that is the case, why does Scripture say: "And the persons that they had made in Haran..."? To teach you that Abraham our father, may he rest

¹⁵ The statement occurs in A p. 64 (G pp. 86-87) in the name of Simeon ben Eleazar under the saying of Rabbi Joshua (PA 2:11; B p. 64) that hating mankind puts one out of this world. There it is more clear: If you love others, God rewards you; if you hate them, he punishes you.

Here in B the statement is not clear. "That same man" may be a euphemism for "you". This preserves the parallelism but the criterion for rewarding and punishing is not clear. If we accept the general import of the version in ARNA, then this important saying is to love others.

¹⁶ Schechter, note 11, suggests that this lemma, which is disconnected here, belongs at the beginning of the chapter.

¹⁷ See the beginning of Ch. 24 where "Torah", not "study of Torah", is spoken of.

¹⁸ In the succeeding paragraphs, bringing people under the wings of heaven means bringing them to the Torah.

¹⁹ See BerRab 39:14 (T-A, pp. 378-79) For the use of this verse to mean bringing someone to Torah, see TosHor 2:7 (p. 476) and BabMez 85a.

²⁰ "*Daily life*" is literally: *hyy š'h* (life of an hour). Perhaps it could also mean transitory existence.

²¹ Ms H reads 'the Shekina.'

in peace, made the men proselytes and Sarah his wife made the women proselytes, as Scripture says : “And the persons that they had made in Haran...” That he had made is not written, but “That they had made”. This teaches that both of them are equal in merit.²²

²² See A p. 53 (G p. 68).

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

HE USED TO SAY : IF NOT I FOR MYSELF, WHO THEN ? AND BEING FOR MYSELF, WHAT AM I ? AND IF NOT NOW, WHEN ?¹

IF NOT I FOR MYSELF, WHO THEN ? If I do not acquire merit for myself in this world who will acquire merit for me in the life of the world to come² where I have no father, no mother and no brother ; where Abraham our father cannot redeem Ishmael and Isaac our father cannot redeem Esau. And even if they give their wealth, they cannot redeem themselves, as Scripture says : "For the ransom of their life is costly, and can never suffice, that he should continue to live on forever... (Ps. 49:10-11)." This soul is so costly that there is no indemnity possible for one who sins against it. Hence I see that this is so as regards fathers in behalf of their sons.³ What about brothers in behalf of brothers ? Isaac our father cannot redeem Ishmael and Jacob our father cannot redeem Esau. For Scripture says : "Truly no man can ransom his brother... (Ps. 49:8)."⁴

And similarly Scripture says : "For a living dog is better than a dead lion (Qoh. 9:4)." The living dog refers to the wicked who can repent all the time that they exist in this world. When they have died, they cannot repent. The dead lion refers to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the just hidden way in the dust.⁵

¹ This saying is PA 1:14 and both here and in ARNA it is interpreted before PA 1:13 (Hillel's Aramaic sayings), which occurs later in the chapter.

The saying is enigmatic , a fact reflected in its various interpretations. See Goldin, *Talmud*, pp. 69-70. H Kosmala ("A Crytic Saying of Hillel, " *Annual of the Swedish Theol. Inst.* 2 (1963), 114-18) suggests that the three questions are actually one unit stressing the community of Israel over individualism. The whole chapter contains a number of tightly worded, enigmatic sayings, similar to the one under consideration here.

² A p. 54 (G p. 69) contains this comment up to here only.

³ The Scriptural verse and its interpretation does not prove that fathers cannot help their sons, but only that no one's money can redeem them. There seems to be some discontinuity in this passage. The following statement about brothers is supported by an appropriate Scriptural verse.

⁴ Repentance is the only thing which can save a soul. See MidPs 46:1 (Braude, I, pp. 455-56) and Moore, I, pp. 221-22.

⁵ Continuing the theme of repentance, ARNB exalts the value of repentance by stating that a living wicked man who can repent is better off than Abraham, etc. ARNA p. 54 (G p. 69) has two interpretations of Qoh. 9:4 which are combined into one in

Because the wicked eat and drink in this world, perhaps you might think that they eat and drink in the world to come.⁶ Actually this is to teach you that all the food and drink which they eat in this world will be changed into mourning for them in the life of the world to come, as Scripture says: "And behold, the tears of the oppressed, and they have no one to comfort them (Qoh. 4:1)."⁷

Because in this world friends and relatives come to a man and comfort him if his son or daughter dies, perhaps you might think that it happens in the future this way. Scripture teaches: "And there is no one to comfort them... (Qoh. 4:1)."

Although friends and relatives do not comfort him, his sons and daughters do comfort him. Perhaps you might think that they also do this in the future. Scripture teaches: "He also has no son or brother... (Qoh. 4:8)."

Because he married in sin, if he were a scholar or disciple,⁸ he would hear the sound of his friends sitting and studying in the study house, and say: What is the sound (I hear) in this gathering? And they say: We are studying such and such a matter. He goes to his father and mother and says: Father, you injured yourself and you injured me in that I could be sitting studying with my friends in Jerusalem,

Version B. In A the interpretations explain "If not now, when?", that is, if you do not repent in this life, then it will be too late in the next. Our version stresses, rather, that each one must repent for himself.

⁶ The consideration of repentance leads to another problem, the prosperity of the wicked. See Ch. 22 above.

⁷ Who are the oppressed in this verse who have no one to comfort them? See QohRab 4:1 for various possibilities. In the interpretation here they are the wicked who prosper in this life and suffer in the next.

The following two paragraphs deal with lack of comfort in the future life, but not specifically in regard to the wicked man. Actually, if we follow the context of Qoh. 4, the subject of the next two paragraphs is the ordinary, hard-working, oppressed man. The two paragraphs are awkward, at any rate, and seem to refer simply to the future.

⁸ The first two clauses of this sentence do not fit well. The first clause is *ns' b'byrh*, an odd combination here *ns'* usually occurs with *'sh* and means "take a wife" or "marry". In A p. 53 (G p. 69) the subject of the sentence is a bastard son, begotten in sin (*b'byrh*). The two expressions seem to be combined here.

To whom do the first two clauses refer? If both refer to the father then the father begat an illegitimate son and was himself educated, that is, a wise man or scholar. If both refer to the son, then the son was begotten in sin and *could have been* (*ykwł* in Ms. R) a wise man or scholar except that a bastard cannot go to Jerusalem and study. Or, finally, the first clause could refer to the father and the second to the son. If this latter, we could translate "Take the case of (*lpy š?*) a man who married in sin. If (his son) were a scholar. ..."

except for the fact that an illegitimate son cannot live in Jerusalem, as Scripture says : "A bastard shall dwell in Ashdod... (Zech. 9:6)."⁹

p. 55 So, what is mine is not mine; why should what belongs to another be mine. A parable. Suppose a man has one kor (of wheat). If he is worthy, he has the means of livelihood and enjoys it. If he is not worthy, sometimes it is eaten up (by others) and sometimes it is destroyed. So, what is mine is not mine; why should what belongs to another be mine.¹⁰

He used to say : If you will come to my house, I will go to your house and if you will not come to my house, I will not go to your house.¹¹

He used to say : "If you will come to my house, I will go to your house." This refers to Israel which leaves its silver and gold and ascends to Jerusalem to celebrate the three pilgrimage feasts; the Shekinah descends¹² upon them and blesses them, as Scripture says : "And I will walk among you, and will be your God... (Lev. 26:12)."

Another interpretation. "If you will come to my house, I will go to your house." This refers to Israel which leaves its threshing floors and wine vats and ascends to Jerusalem on the three pilgrimage feasts; the Holy One, blessed be He, descends upon them and blesses them, as Scripture says : "I will come to you and bless you (Ex. 20:24)."¹³

⁹ A p. 53 (G p. 69) and Kid 72b both quote Zech. 9:6. In LevRab 32:8 (Margulies, p. 754) and QohRab 4:1 Dan the tailor interprets "oppressed" in Qoh. 4:1 to refer to bastards and their status within Israel. Hence the story of the bastard occurs here in proximity to Qoh. 4:1. In Version A the story occurs two paragraphs after Qoh 4:1 and under the theme of "drawing others to Torah."

¹⁰ This saying in this paragraph is similar to (and perhaps a comment on) "If not I for myself, who then? And being for myself, what am I?" The parable comments on the instability of one's possessions. Something similar occurs in Derek Eretz Zuta, Ch. 2.

¹¹ This saying of Hillel's is not in PA, but it occurs in A p. 55 (G pp. 69-70); Suk 53a; TosSuk 4:3; and Mech on 20:24 (Lauterbach, II, p. 287, in the name of Eliezer ben Jacob) with the addition : "To the place My heart loves, My feet lead me." God is the speaker in Hillel's saying. The saying is followed by a couple of interpretations and is treated as an independent saying. It is similar to those from PA in this chapter. See also Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah*, Sukkah, p. 888.

¹² *mhzrt* (piel) means literally "to go from one to another successively" or "to apply to several at once."

¹³ The saying originally referred to attending the three yearly pilgrim festivals in Jerusalem. See also its context in Suk 53a. A p. 55 (G p. 70) adds an interpretation applying the saying to attendance at the synagogue and study house. See Goldin, "Two Versions," for this tendency in A.

(He used to say :)¹⁴ When we are present, who is present. If we are not present, who is present ?¹⁵

AND WHAT IS THE MEANING OF : TURN IT THIS WAY, TURN IT THAT WAY, EVERYTHING IS IN IT; AND DO NOT STIR FROM IT, FOR YOU HAVE NO BETTER PORTION THAN IT.¹⁶ BEN HE HE SAYS : ACCORDING TO THE PAINSTAKING, THE REWARD.¹⁷

"When we are present, who is present." A story is told of Hillel the Elder who was sitting at the place of the water drawing¹⁸ with people standing to pray. He saw that their hearts were uplifted. He said to them : You know that we and our praises are nothing. Are there not before him a thousand thousands and a myriad of myriads of ministering angels who worship him, as Scripture says : "Is there any number to his multitudes (Job 25:3) ?"¹⁹ "When we are not present, who is present ?" When he saw that their hearts were broken, he said to them : Are there not before him a thousand thousands and a myriad of myriads of ministering angels, yet he does not desire the praise of any of them except that of Israel, as Scripture says : "The anointed of the God of Jacob and the favorite are the songs of Israel (Ps. 23:1)." And it says : "Yet you are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel (Ps. 22:4)."

What is the meaning of :²⁰ "TURN IT THIS WAY, TURN IT THAT WAY,

¹⁴ Schechter adds this introductory phrase. The following saying is in Aramaic.

¹⁵ This saying is similar to other ones in this chapter. Below it is connected to a story of Hillel at the waterdrawing during the Feast of Booths. See also Hillel's other saying there : "If I [God] am here, everyone is here; if I am not here, who is here ?" Suk 53a and JerSuk 5:4 (55b) (in Aramaic).

¹⁶ See PA 5:22 for a longer version of this saying and A p. 55 (G p. 70) for a shorter version. Commentators apply this to Torah—see Goldin, *Talmud*, pp. 223-224. The meaning of the saying is given below, in a succeeding paragraph.

¹⁷ See PA 5:23 and A p. 55 (G p. 70). This and the previous saying are together in PA and again below, in this chapter.

¹⁸ *byt šw'bh* (or *byt š'wbh*) refers to the drawing of water for libations at the Feast of Booths, a high point of joy, especially on the first evening of the festival. See Suk 4:9-10 and 5:1-4; TosSuk 4:1-4. See also Albeck's mishnah, ad loc., added comments. The place's exact location is unknown. The two forms of its name are discussed in Suk 53a. See D. Feuchtwang, "Das Wasseropfer unter die damit verbundenen Zeremonien," *MWJ* 55 (1911), 47ff.

¹⁹ Thus far, the story about Hillel is connected to the first half of the saying : "When we are present, who is present ?" The second part of the story about Hillel below is connected to the second half of the saying : "When we are not present, who is present ?" JerSuk 5:4 says that Hillel used to make his first comment when the people danced too vigorously and the second when they danced in too restrained a fashion.

²⁰ These two sayings (PA 5:22 and 23) are quoted together as they were earlier in the chapter. The story of Hillel told below is a comment on the second saying.

EVERYTHING IS IN IT; AND DO NOT STIR FROM IT, FOR YOU HAVE NO BETTER PORTION THAN IT. BEN HE HE SAYS : ACCORDING TO THE PAINSTAKING, THE REWARD.

A story is told about a donkey driver who came to Hillel the Elder. He said to him : Rabbi, see how we are better off than you (Babylonians), for you are put to great trouble with all this travelling when you ascend from Babylon to Jerusalem, but I go forth from the entrance of my house and lodge in the entrance to Jerusalem.²¹ He waited a bit²² and then said to him : For how much would you rent me
p. 56 your donkey from here to Emmaus? He answered : A dinar. How much to Lod? He answered : Two. How much to Caesarea? He answered : Three. He said to him : I see that, in so far as I increase the distance (to be travelled), you increase the price. He answered : Yes, price is according to distance. He said to him : And should not the reward for my own feet be (at least) the equivalent of a beast's feet? This is what Hillel used to maintain : According to the painstaking, the reward.²³

A story is told of Rabbi Joshua that he was coming down the road and saw a skull floating on the face of the water. He said to it : For drowning others you were drowned; and they that drowned you shall be drowned.²⁴ He used to say five more things in Aramaic.²⁵ A NAME MADE

²¹ The donkey driver must have lived right outside the gate to Jerusalem, so he could just go outside his house and be in Jerusalem.

²² I omit Schechter's *šq*, "he kept silent," which is unnecessary. It is not found in Mss. R or P; it is found in N, but the passage there is considerably different.

²³ The ass driver, who works around Jerusalem, compares his life with that of a scholar like Hillel, who had to migrate from Babylon to study Torah in Jerusalem. Hillel then shows that he will be rewarded in proportion to his effort in travelling a great distance, just as the ass driver is. He is here credited with authoring the saying or at least with teaching it.

In A p. 56 (G p. 70) Hillel gets the saying from a pair of ass drivers. Lieberman (*Greek*, p. 160, n. 113, quoted in G p. 190, n. 41) traces the occurrences of the saying and of Ben He He and concludes that it is a proverb credited to various sages.

²⁴ This story occurs in the name of Hillel in PA 2:6, A p. 55 (G p. 70) and Suk 53a. The text in ARNA and B are a bit changed from PA. Schechter (note 23) suggests a scribal error.

The saying generally concerns retribution. It occurs, with other sayings found in this chapter, both in Version A and in Suk 53a. For a later application of the saying, see Lieberman, *Hellenism*, p. 137, n. 87, quoted in G p. 190, n. 45. For the original nature of the saying, see Goldin, "The End of Ecclesiastes," pp. 136-38.

²⁵ See PA 1:13 and A p. 55 (G pp. 70-71) where only four sayings are presented. ARNB has several groups of five in the following chapters.

GREAT IS A NAME DESTROYED; HE THAT DOES NOT INCREASE SHALL CEASE; HE THAT PUTS THE CROWN TO HIS OWN USE SHALL PERISH; HE WHO DOES NOT SERVE THE SCHOLARS DESERVES TO DIE; HE WHO SERVES BUT DOES NOT FULFILL (THE LAWS) DESERVES THE WORST KIND OF DEATH.

A NAME MADE GREAT IS A NAME DESTROYED. Someone's name became known in the city : So and so is a fine person ; so and so is courageous. Later, you inquire about him and do not even know when he passed away.²⁶ HE THAT DOES NOT INCREASE SHALL CEASE. This is to teach you that everyone who teaches one section of the Torah²⁷ ought to learn it²⁸ perfectly. If he has not learned it perfectly, he will end up forgetting it, as Scripture says : "Only take heed, and keep your soul diligently, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen, and lest they depart from your heart all the days of your life... (Dt. 4:9)."²⁹

AND HE THAT PUTS THE CROWN TO HIS OWN USE SHALL PERISH. If Belshazzar destroyed himself for this life and life in the world to come by putting to personal use Temple vessels which can be exchanged and which have a monetary value,³⁰ how much the more does he who puts to personal use the crown of the King over the king of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, destroy himself for this life and the life of the world to come.³¹

HE WHO DOES NOT SERVE THE SCHOLARS DESERVES TO DIE. A story is told about a priest in Ramat Bene-Anat³² whom Rabbi Joshua went to speak with. They were discussing the Halakot of the Pious.³³ When

²⁶ Version B does not say how he dies. A p. 56 (G p. 71) has the government killing him for his money. For the same theme in B, see p. 47 (Ch. 22) and note 21.

²⁷ See B, Ch. 11, n. 9, Ch. 12, n. 6 and Ch. 28, n. 5 for this expression.

²⁸ Hebrew : *gmwr*.

²⁹ A p. 56 (G p. 71), true to its emphasis on the oral law (Goldin, "Two Versions"), speaks of learning two or three tractates (of the Mishnah).

³⁰ See Daniel, Ch. 5 for this incident.

³¹ In PA 4:5 (a similar saying of Rabbi Sadok) the crown is Torah. In A p. 56 (G p. 71) the crown is God's name, YHWH. The crown is not identified explicitly here, but the surrounding paragraphs are speaking of Torah. See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, pp. 54, n. 36 and 80-81.

³² Ramat Bene-Anat is not known. ARNA p. 56 (G p. 71) has Bet Ramah. A. Neubauer (*La Geographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868) lists a Bet Rimah near Jaffa. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 152) says that Bet Ramtah was the original text in A. Neubauer places Bet Ramtah across the Jordan from Jericho. This was Livias in the time of Herod. Ms. N reads Ramat Beth-Anat.

³³ See Schechter, note 26 and Ch. 26, n. 6. The Halakot of the Pious is not otherwise known. Schechter in the name of Friedmann says that some parts of the Talmud were

mealtime came, he said to his wife : Put a drop of oil in the beans.
 p. 57 She went and took the jar from the stove. Joshua said to him : Rabbi, is the stove clean ? He said to him : Can a stove or oven become unclean ? He said to him : Scripture says : "Whether oven or stove, it shall be broken in pieces ; they are unclean, and shall be unclean (Lev. 11:35)." So, you see that an oven and stoves can become unclean, and HE WHO SERVED AND DID NOT FULFILL (THE LAW) DESERVES THE WORST KIND OF DEATH. He said : Rabbi, I have been accustomed to act in this way all my life. He said to him : If you have been accustomed to act in this way all your life, you have not eaten consecrated food as it should be eaten. The sages said : HE WHO SERVES BUT DOES NOT FULFILL (THE LAW) DESERVES THE WORST KIND OF DEATH.³⁴

followed only by certain groups and that this document may be connected with such teachings. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 152), on the other hand, holds (on the basis of ARNA) that the priest followed Pharisaic teaching (*nwhg b'smw mdt hsydwt*—"followed the customs of Hasidism").

³⁴ This story only incidentally concerns the fourth saying : "He who does not serve the scholars deserves to die." It really deals with the fifth one : "He who served (in this case : served food) and did not fulfill (the law) deserves death very much." See A p. 56 (G p. 71) and for the cleanness of ovens, see *Kelim*, Chs. 5-9.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

Hillel the Elder¹ had eighty pairs of disciples. Thirty of them were worthy to have the Shekinah rest upon them. And thirty of them were worthy to have the sun stand still for them as it did for Joshua ben Nun. And twenty of them were middling. The oldest among them was Jonathan ben Uzziel and the youngest among them was Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai.²

When Hillel was dying, all of them entered, but Johanan did not enter. Hillel said to them : Where is Johanan ? They answered : He is standing at the door. He said to them : Let him enter ; he is worthy. When he entered, he said to them : The least among you is the father of wisdom and father to generations(to come). How much more he who is the greatest³. He said to them : Concerning you Scripture says :

¹ Version A p. 57 (G p. 74) prefaces this story of Hillel with "Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai took over from Hillel and Shammai." B does not make this statement until Ch. 31 (p. 66); see note 1 there. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 40-41; *JBL* 57 [1938], pp. 49-50) surmises that "Hillel's eighty disciples" is a transition phrase from document one to document two. The editor of ARNB has added "Johanan received" after the document, at the beginning of Ch. 31 (p. 66). In ARNA Ch. 14 (p. 57) "Johanan received" comes immediately before Hillel's eighty disciples but does not fit there. In turning to Johanan ben Zakkai now ARN skips the sayings of Gamaliel II and his successors (PA 1:16-2:4); Finkelstein (*JBL* 57 [1938], 24-29) says that these men were added to the chain of tradition by Judah the Prince. See A. Saldarini, "The End of the Rabbinic chain of Tradition," *JBL* 93 (1974) 91-106.

In the succeeding chapters materials concerning Hillel and Johanan ben Zakkai are mixed together. See also the sayings of Hillel located in PA 2:4-7.

² See A p. 57 (G p. 74); Suk 28a; BabBat 134a; JerNed 5:6 In Suk and BabBat, like B, thirty of the disciples were worthy to have the sun stand still for them, as it did for Joshua. In ARNA the thirty disciples were worthy to intercalate the year (see Sanh 10b-11a for the stringent restrictions put on this activity). In all three sources this paragraph is immediately followed by the account of Johanan's studies.

The expressions "the greatest" and "the least" (*gdwl* and *qtn*) can also mean the oldest and the youngest. Since this paragraph evaluates the abilities of the disciples, this sentence seems to be a statement of who is greatest and least. (See the following note.) Jonathan ben Uzziel is primarily credited with being the author of the Targum to the prophets (Meg 3a).

³ Hillel's words on his deathbed parallel the previous paragraph. The words for greatest-least can also mean older-younger and this meaning may be implied as a further contrast of Jonathan and Johanan. If the youngest-least disciple is very successful,

"Endowing with wealth those who love me, and filling their treasuries (Prov. 8:21)." Concerning you, Rabban Johanan, Scripture says: "Endowing with wealth those who love me, and filling their treasuries (Prov. 8:21)."⁴

p. 58 It is said of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai that he did not leave one section of the Torah unstudied; he studied Scripture and Targum, Halakah and aggadah, (arcane) speech and parable. He studied everything.⁵

Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai used to say five things⁶ to his disciples: Colleagues, study Torah and labor at it. IF YOU HAVE CARRIED OUT⁷ THE WHOLE TORAH, ALL OF IT, AS THIS COMMANDMENT,⁸ DO NOT KEEP TORAH TO YOURSELF,⁹ BECAUSE FOR THIS YOU WERE CREATED.

how much more successful must the oldest-greatest be. Yet this did not turn out to be the case. Johanan did become the father of wisdom and of generations to come since he was the dominant figure in the adaptation of Judaism after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. But Jonathan did not acquire anything near his fame. Perhaps some later sage imagined that if Johanan, the youngest, had been so great, then Jonathan and the others must have been great, also, even though we don't hear about it.

Since this paragraph and the previous one have the same general point, perhaps one derives from the other. This one, with a story, might easily have been earlier and the comparison of Johanan and the others may be, as I have suggested, a late development.

This story, which is not in Version A, makes a smooth transition from Hillel to Johanan.

⁴ Hillel quotes Prov. 8:21 both of his disciples and of Johanan, without distinction, one right after the other. Perhaps two statements have been combined here. Ms. H lacks the second statement. In A p. 57 (G p. 74) it is said anonymously of Johanan only and comes after the paragraph which follows here. In JerNed 5:6 also, it is used of Johanan So Prov. 8:21 may have been traditionally connected to Johanan, and fitted in differently by the two versions.

⁵ See Ch. 12 and nn. 7 and 8, where the same curriculum is followed by Akiba. See the parallel in A p. 57 (G p. 74), followed by Prov. 8:21.

⁶ Groups of five are common in these chapters. Only two sayings follow this statement. In Ch. 31 (pp. 66ff.) one of the saying recurs with five additional ones of Johanan ben Zakkai. The first saying found here does not recur. Perhaps the number five was carried back from the beginning of the following chapter where Johanan's five disciples are named. Perhaps an original five sayings have been dislocated or disturbed. Or perhaps this statement imitates Hillel's five Aramaic sayings in Ch. 27.

⁷ The Hebrew for "do; carry out" is *'syt* and in context with Torah can also mean to "study" Torah. See S. Abramson in *Leshonenu* 19 (1953), 61-65 for this dual usage.

⁸ The meaning of this phrase, "as this commandment", is not clear. It could mean, "as this commandment says", referring to this very saying or it could mean "in the same way you carried out the previous commandment."

⁹ In PA 2:8 and B, Ch 31 (p. 66) the word *twbh* is added after the verb and the sentence means "Do not take credit for Torah." Here the saying seems to mean that one should teach and spread Torah rather than keeping it for himself.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

RABBI JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI¹ HAD FIVE DISCIPLES.² THEY ARE RABBI ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS, RABBI JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH, RABBI JOSE THE PRIEST, RABBI SIMEON BEN NATHANEL, AND RABBI ELEAZER BEN ARAK. RABBI JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI USED TO SPEAK REPEATEDLY³ OF THEIR OUTSTANDING VIRTUES, SAYING :⁴

ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS—A PLASTERED CISTERN WHICH LOSES NOT A DROP.

JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH—HAPPY IS SHE WHO BORE HIM. ABBA SAUL⁵

¹ This chapter begins with the second sentence of PA 2:8. The first sentence of PA 2:8 comes at the beginning of Ch. 31 (p. 66). Version A presents the first sentence at the beginning of Ch. 14 (p. 57; G p. 74), in a relatively earlier position, and then follows almost immediately with the second sentence of PA 2:8. For Finkelstein's explanation of these displacements, see above, Ch. 28, note 1.

² Once again, a group of five, characterizing these chapters. See the group of five predecessors of Rabbi Judah the Prince given in Version A (p. 66; G p. 90). In the Gospels, too, Jesus calls five disciples individually before he calls the twelve apostles. They are Andrew and Peter, James and John (Mk. 1; Mt. 4; Lk. 5) and Levi the tax collector (Mk. 2; Mt. 9; Lk. 5).

³ Instead of "speak repeatedly; teach" (*mšnh*) PA has "list" (*munh*) and ARNA has "had a name for" (*qr'...šmw*).

⁴ The praises of the five disciples in the three versions are as follows :

	<i>PA</i>	<i>ARNB</i>	<i>ARNA</i>
Eliezer	cistern	cistern (Saul : happy ...)	cistern
Joshua	happy is bearer	happy is bearer (Saul : oasis)	threefold cord
Jose	saint	<i>Simeon</i> : saint	saint
Simeon	fears sin	<i>Jose</i> : fears sin	oasis
Eleazar	everflowing stream	everflowing and overflowing stream	everflowing and overflowing stream

There are minor variants for almost all the epithets. The order of names established in PA 2:8 and ARNA occurs in PA 2:9 and its parallels in ARNA and B, but in ARNB here (in the above chart) and in Ch. 30 (pp. 63-65) two names are inverted. Abba Saul's tradition, according to B, was received from Akiba, a disciple of Eliezer. Overall, PA and B are closer to each other than to A, but the traditions in all three influenced each other. These traditions must have been fluid at an early stage and finally solidified into several forms.

⁵ The translation follows Ms. P (Schechter, pp. 170-71). Ms. R has omitted a section,

SAYS IN THE NAME OF AKIBA : HE DID NOT SAY THIS ; RATHER HE SAID :
 ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS—HAPPY IS SHE WHO BORE HIM. JOSHUA BEN
 HANANIAH—HE IS LIKE AN OASIS⁶ WHICH HOLDS ONTO ITS WATER IN
 THE DESERT.

SIMEON BEN NATHANEL—THE GENERATION'S SAINT.⁷

JOSE THE PRIEST—FEARS SIN.

ELIEZER BEN ARAK—EVERFLOWING SPRING AND OVERFLOWING
 p. 59 STREAM WHOSE WATERS BUBBLE OVER.

HE USED TO SAY : IF ALL THE SAGES OF ISRAEL WERE IN ONE SCALE OF
 THE BALANCE AND ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS WERE IN THE OTHER SCALE,
 HE WOULD OUTWEIGH THEM ALL.⁸ ABBA SAUL SAYS IN THE NAME OF
 RABBI AKIBA, THAT HE USED TO SAY IN (JOHANAN'S) NAME THAT
 (JOHANAN) REALLY USED TO SAY : IF ALL THE SAGES OF ISRAEL WERE
 IN ONE SCALE OF THE BALANCE, AND ELIEZER BEN HYRCANUS WITH
 THEM, THE FINGER OF RABBI ELIEZER BEN ARAK WOULD OUTWEIGH
 THEM.⁹

Why did he not attain fame for learning? Because when they left
 Jerusalem, (each of) them said : Where shall I go? Now he said :
 Let us go to Emmaus, a beautiful town whose waters are sweet.¹⁰ His

from the first citation of Abba Saul to the second citation of him, through homoeoteleuton. Abba Saul is not mentioned here in PA or A.

⁶ Ms. P reads *'rwgh*. ARNA, p. 58, has *grw'h*. For the different forms of this word and root (*gr'*), see Aruch, II, p. 374 and especially note 8. Binyan Joshua interprets *grw'h* as a depression that holds its water.

⁷ Simeon's place in the list has been exchanged with Jose. For an explanation of why Simeon is characterized as fearing sin in PA and as an oasis in A, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 43. For the expression "fears sin" see A Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature*, p. 21. Simeon ben Johai and Bar Kappara both held that only "fear of sin" is stored up in the heavenly treasury. Others held that there were many treasures.

⁸ This praise of Eliezer, and its position immediately after the five praises, may date from the time that Eleazar ben Arak had disappointed Johanan and gone to Emmaus. Eliezer, though put under the ban by Gamaliel II, was much more prominent in the tradition than Eleazar ben Arak, despite the original high expectations for Eleazar

⁹ In PA 2:8 and A p. 58 (G p. 75) Abba Saul says this in the name of Johanan without mention of Rabbi Akiba. The version here in B is more exaggerated than the other two. This may have been the original praise of Eleazar ben Arak which was modified and moderated after Eleazar departed for Emmaus and ceased to be a force in Rabbinic circles. Using this passage, Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 41-42) dates the original mishnah to Johanan's time. Abba Saul lived after the Bar Kosiba War (C.E. 132-35) and could have received it from Akiba, who was close to Johanan's disciples.

¹⁰ Schechter emends Ms. R to read "sweet"; Ms. P has *ypym* ("beautiful, pleasant") as does line 18, below.

name did not become famous for learning. But those who said : Let us go to Jamnia, a place where people love the Torah, a place where scholars are numerous, attained fame for learning.¹¹

A parable : if a man should show a dinar to a dyer and wool to a money-changer, neither would know what was going on. But if he should show wool to a dyer and a dinar to a money changer, each would know what belongs to his craft.¹²

He who said :¹³ Let us go to Emmaus, a beautiful town¹⁴ whose waters are beautiful ; (and) let everyone who wants to study Torah come after it (here), did not attain fame¹⁵ for learning. Those who said : Let us go to a place where people love the Torah and scholars are numerous, did attain fame for learning.

HE SAID TO THEM :¹⁶ GO OUT AND SEE¹⁷ WHICH IS THE GOOD¹⁸ WAY TO WHICH A MAN SHOULD CLEAVE ?

RABBI ELIEZER REPLIED : A LIBERAL EYE.¹⁹

¹¹ This story explains why Eleazar ben Arak did not fulfill the early high expectations of him. Version A has this incident at the end of Ch. 14 (p. 59; G pp. 77-78) after PA 2:9 and a story very complimentary to Rabbi Eleazar have been recounted.

The story presupposes that the company one keeps and the spirit of a place are very important to the study of Torah (see PA 6:9). B says explicitly that Eleazar invited others who wished to study Torah to come with him, so he did not willfully go off alone. Rather, the later Rabbis saw the citizens of Jamnia as loving and encouraging Torah study and the citizens of Emmaus as not doing this, though they lived in a beautiful place. This evaluation of the citizenry of Jamnia and Emmaus may be a later explanation of what actually happened to Eleazar and the others.

¹² A scholar, according to this parable, should recognize where Torah study goes on. If he is not at a center of study, he is like a money-changer looking at wool.

¹³ This paragraph is an explanation of the parable and a restatement of the major point of the section.

¹⁴ The text reads *h'yr yph*, lacking the definite article with the adjective. Above, the same phrase is *l'yr yph*.

¹⁵ I translate according to Ms. P which reads *l' ntgd*, not according to Schechter's emendation. R has omitted *l'*. This phrasing is identical to that in the previous recounting of this story.

¹⁶ Johanan said this. See PA 2:9 and A p. 58 (G p. 75). For the background of this, see J. Goldin, "*Mašehu 'al bet midrasho šel Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai*," *Wolfson Jubilee*, Heb. Vol. (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 69-92, and a slightly different English version of the same paper : "A Philosophical Session in a Tannaitic Academy," *Traditio* 21 (1965), pp. 1-21. Goldin sees the influence of popular Stoic ethics in the positive and negative form of the question and in the variety of virtues and vices given as answers.

¹⁷ For this reading, see Ms. P (Schechter, p. 171).

¹⁸ PA 2:9 has the "right" or "straight" (*yšrh*) way. A p. 58 (G p. 75) has the "good" way, like B.

¹⁹ Literally : "a good eye". See also PA 5:19. This means three things : generosity,

RABBI JOSHUA REPLIED : A GOOD COMPANION.

RABBI JOSE REPLIED : THIS REFERS TO THE GOOD IMPULSE. BUT SOME SAY THIS REFERS TO A GOOD WIFE.²⁰

RABBI SIMEON REPLIED : FORESIGHT.²¹

RABBI ELEAZAR REPLIED : GOODHEARTEDNESS.²² GOODHEARTEDNESS TOWARD (CARRYING OUT) THE COMMANDMENTS²³ AND TOWARD MANKIND.

RABBI JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI SAID TO THEM : I PREFER THE ANSWER OF ELEAZAR BEN ARAK, FOR IN HIS WORDS YOUR WORDS ARE INCLUDED.²⁴

RABBI JOHANAN SAID TO THEM AGAIN : GO OUT AND SEE WHICH IS THE EVIL WAY WHICH A MAN SHOULD SHUN.²⁵

RABBI ELIEZER REPLIED : A GRUDGING EYE.

RABBI JOSHUA REPLIED : AN EVIL COMPANION.

RABBI JOSE REPLIED : THIS REFERS TO THE EVIL IMPULSE. BUT SOME SAY THIS REFERS TO AN EVIL WIFE.

RABBI SIMEON REPLIED : BORROWING AND NOT REPAYING, FOR ONE WHO BORROWS FROM MAN IS LIKE ONE WHO BORROWS FROM GOD, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "THE WICKED BORROWS, AND DOES NOT REPAY : BUT THE RIGHTEOUS IS GENEROUS AND GIVES... (Ps. 37:21)."

RABBI ELEAZAR REPLIED : MEANHEARTEDNESS. MEANHEARTEDNESS TOWARD THE COMMANDMENTS AND TOWARD MANKIND.

RABBI JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI SAID TO THEM : I PREFER THE ANSWER

as in B p. 124 (Ch. 45); care for another's reputation, as in A p. 62 (G p. 82); and lack of envy, as in B p. 63 (Ch. 30) and Maimonides' commentary on this passage. Prov. 22:9 has *ṭwb 'yn*, meaning generosity.

²⁰ PA 2:9 says "a good neighbor." Version A has "a good neighbor, a good impulse, and a good wife." Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 44) surmises that a good impulse was original and for Johanan it was subordinate to goodheartedness, Eleazar's all inclusive category. But later teachers thought a good (or bad) impulse was the most basic and all inclusive category and so they changed the text.

²¹ See Goldin, "A Philosophical Session," p. 19 and the Hebrew version pp. 88-89. He suggests on the basis of the Greek background of this section that foresight may mean anticipating that one will have to pay back what one owes another or what has been deposited with him. This would be the exact opposite of "not repaying" below.

²² *Lb ṭwd* means a pleasant or cheerful disposition and *lb r'* means the opposite, according to E.Z. Melamed, "*Lilšōnāh šel masseket 'abōt*," *Lešōnenū* 20 (1956), 108-09.

²³ Ms. R reads *mšwh*, commandment, an unusual word in the singular in this context. The singular may stand for the idea of "law". Or perhaps it should be "commandments" (*mšwt*) with a *he* misread for a *taw*. Ms. P has the plural. See Eleazar's negative answer below and A p. 58, n. 11 (G p. 75 and note 14) for "commandments".

²⁴ The rabbis tended to formulate and prefer the more general or concise statement. See Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (Lund, 1961), pp. 136-42.

²⁵ See the notes to the positive things mentioned previously.

OF ELEAZAR BEN ARAK, FOR IN HIS WORDS YOUR WORDS ARE INCLUDED.

RABBI ELIEZER²⁶ USED TO SAY THREE FURTHER THINGS: LET THE HONOR OF YOUR FELLOW²⁷ BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN. BE NOT EASILY ANGERED. REPENT ONE DAY BEFORE YOUR DEATH.²⁸

p. 60 LET THE HONOR OF YOUR FELLOW BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN.²⁹ Be careful with the honor of his sons and daughters. If you do not want a man to take what is yours, do not take what is your fellow's. If you do not wish to be slandered, do not slander another.³⁰

BE NOT EASILY ANGERED. A story is told about one who came to get Hillel the Elder angry.³¹ He waited until Hillel was asleep and then began knocking and saying: Someone is here, Hillel.³² Hillel said:

²⁶ The rest of this and the following chapter are taken up with the sayings of the five disciples. Rabbi Eliezer's education was treated in Ch. 13.

²⁷ Ms. R has "student" (*ilmydk*) but Ms. P and MhM have "fellow". The comment below fits "fellow" (*hbyrh*). A p. 59 (G p. 78) and PA 2:10 also have "fellow".

²⁸ The rest of Eliezer's saying (PA 2:10) is quoted at the end of the chapter; the same is true in Version A, Ch. 15. Finkelstein (*JBL* 57 [1938], p. 39) suggests that Rabbi Judah the Prince accepted the longer version of the saying (attributed in A, finally, to a disciple of Eliezer) into the Mishnah. Albeck (IV, p. 495) also thinks that it is a later addition.

²⁹ Version B lacks this lemma, but it is supplied by Schechter. See also p. 65 (Ch. 30) where the same phenomenon occurs with a similar saying. For this theme, see Ch. 34 (p. 76).

³⁰ Rabbi Eliezer's saying is interpreted to mean the Golden Rule, do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Akiba offers something similar in Ch. 26 (p. 53) as the essence of Torah. See also p. 65 and p. 71. Derek Eretz Zuta, Ch. 2, repeats this saying.

³¹ See A p. 60 (G pp. 78-80). For two other stories of Hillel's patience, see below. Shab 31a and b has four stories altogether, and each one illustrates a principle of interpretation or teaching which Hillel introduced (David Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *HUCA* 32 (1949), p. 244, n. 17). Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 44-45) suggests that these stories of Hillel are told here in document two because it is Hillelite and not with his first sayings in document one because it is Sham-maite.

The questions asked in A, B and Shabbat compare as follows:

A	B	Shab 31
	donkey	
Tadmorites	Babylonians	Babylonians
Africans	Africans	Tadmorites
Babylonians	Tadmorites	Africans

Shabbat has shorter versions of the stories. In B, this and the following two stories are linked by the introductory phrase: "A story is told ..." (*m'sh b-*).

³² Mss. R and P have *byt hll*. H reads *hll*, the correct text. For the significance of this difference in the history of the manuscripts, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 195.

What is it? He replied : (I have) a question. Hillel got up and opened (the door) to him; he wrapped himself in his cloak and sat down. What is your question? The man answered : I forgot. Hillel said : Gather your wits.³³ The man said : Why is the tail of a cow long and the tail of a donkey short? He said : You have raised an important question. He answered him : Because the donkey carries a saddle upon its body, his tail only reaches half way down his thigh.³⁴ But the body of a cow is exposed and its tail is long and it uses it over all its body. Hillel then said to him : Do you have another question? The man answered : No. He rose and went. Hillel went up and went to sleep.

While he was sleeping, the man began knocking and saying : Someone is here, Hillel. Hillel said : What is it ? He replied : (I have) a question. Hillel got up and opened (the door); he wrapped himself in his cloak and sat down. Then he said to him : Ask your question. The man said : I forgot. Hillel said : Gather your wits. The man said : Why are the heads of Babylonians long and the heads of people in this province round? Hillel said : You have raised an important question. He answered him : Because in their country there are no cradles and a child grows all his days in his mother's lap, but in this province, when a mother gives birth to a child, she handles and tends it in his cradle and the children's heads become round.³⁵ Consequently, the heads of Babylonians are long and the heads of people in this province are round.

p. 61 Hillel then said to him : Do you have another question. The man answered : No. He rose and left. Hillel went up and went to sleep.

The man began knocking and saying : Someone is here, Hillel. Hillel said : What is it? He replied : I have a question. Hillel got up and opened (the door); he wrapped himself in his cloak and sat down. Then he said to him : Ask your question. The man said : I forgot. Hillel said : Gather your wits. The man said : Why are the soles of Africans' feet wider than those of all other people? Hillel said : You have raised an important question. He answered him : Because their country is among watery marshes and day and night they walk around in the water, so their soles spread because of the water. Consequently, they are wider than those of any other people. Hillel then said to him :

³³ The text says literally : "Careful with your spirit" (*hzhr brwhk*).

³⁴ The animals use the tail to flick off flies and other insects.

³⁵ An acquaintance from Baghdad reports to me that even today, shapes of the heads of people in different cultural traditions there can be traced to different ways of handling infants.

Do you have another question? The man answered: No. He rose and left. Hillel went up and went to sleep.

The man began knocking and saying:³⁶ Someone is here, Hillel. Hillel said: What is it? He replied: (I have) a question. Hillel got up and opened (the door); he wrapped himself in his cloak and sat down. Then he said to him: Ask your question. The man said: I forgot. Hillel said: Gather your wits. The man said: Why are the eyes of the Tadmorites³⁷ more narrow than those of all other people? Hillel said: You have raised an important question. It is because they live close to the wind in the desert³⁸ and the wind blows upon them and drives sand into their faces and their eyes fill up with water and they become more narrow than those of all other people. Consequently the eyes of the Tadmorites are more narrow than those of any other people.³⁹ Hillel asked him: Do you have another question. The man answered: No. Hillel went off to go sleep.

The man began to cry out, saying: Woe is me because of you, Hillel, woe is me because of you! Hillel asked: What is it? He replied: Your patience has made me lose four hundred dinars. Hillel said to him: It is better for you⁴⁰ that you lose four hundred dinars (more) on top of four hundred dinars than that Hillel be called impatient for even one hour before God.⁴¹

A story is told of one who came to Shammai.⁴² He said to him:

³⁶ Ms. R omits the question about the Tadmorites. I follow Ms. P.

³⁷ Tadmor is the Hebrew name for Palmyra, a city in the desert, located in a northeasterly direction from Damascus. It was an important caravan city on the route from Palestine to Mesopotamia.

³⁸ Ms. P has *bz'p lmdbr*, an odd expression. Ms. R is probably correct in lacking it.

³⁹ The sentence repeats the last clause of the previous sentence. Perhaps "more...than those of all other people" was added to the previous sentence under the influence of this one. See the ending of the previous exchange between Hillel and his questioner.

⁴⁰ Ms. H lacks "for you", thus generalizing the statement and making better sense. See Eduy 5:6 and Nid 13a for this expression.

⁴¹ Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 45) considers Hillel's sharp answer contrary to his reputed humility and patience. He would expect Hillel to comfort the man on the loss of 400 dinars and not to value himself so highly. But, while Hillel's meekness means that he puts other's welfare above his own, it does not mean that he subjugates his relationship to God to others. Consequently, it is better that the man lose 400 dinars than that Hillel do something displeasing to God, for the rabbis taught that God was present to the humble (Moore, II, pp. 274-75).

⁴² This is the second of the three stories in this chapter. It follows the classical form with the impatient Shammai opposed to the patient Hillel. See Shab 31a. Shab 124b has the exhortation to be humble like Hillel and not impatient like Shammai.

Rabbi, convert me on condition that you make me high priest. Shammai answered : Don't we have anyone in Israel to make high priest rather than this proselyte ? He scorned him angrily⁴³ and dismissed him with a rebuke.⁴⁴ The man went to Hillel the Elder and said to him : Rabbi, convert me on condition that you make me high priest. Hillel said to him : My son, whoever wants to enter the service of a human king must first study how to make exits and entrances and how to prepare the meals of a human king. Now you, since you wish to enter the service of the King over the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, must all the more study how to make entrances and exits, how to slaughter, how to sprinkle blood, how to burn the incense and how to trim the lights. He gave him the book⁴⁵ and the man began reading it. He read until he reached "The stranger who comes near shall be put to death (Num. 1:51)." He asked : Rabbi, of whom does this verse speak. Hillel answered : Even of David, the king of Israel.⁴⁶ That proselyte responded : How much the more me, a mere proselyte who came along with my walking stick and shoes. Then he said : Your impatience, Shammai, (almost) made me remove my soul from the life of this world and the life of the world to come; and your patience, Hillel, made me worthy to inherit the life of this world and the life of the world to come.⁴⁷

A story is told of one who came to Shammai the Elder.⁴⁸ He asked

⁴³ Ms P reads *z'pw* alone ("he was angry with him"). *hytl* is unusual in MH. In BH see it under the root 11.

⁴⁴ See Ch. 25, n. 11

⁴⁵ "The book" is, of course, the Pentateuch.

⁴⁶ In BerRab 55:6 (T-A, p. 589); DtRab 2:7 this verse (Num. 1:51) is applied to Moses to show that even he is not a priest.

⁴⁷ Had the proselyte stopped with Shammai and not become a Jew, this passage holds that he would have lost life in the world to come. That is Shammaite teaching. Compare Shab 31a where he would not have enjoyed God's protection as a member of Israel in this life. The Hillelite view is that the righteous Gentile who does not become a Jew can still enter the life of the world to come. Version A (p. 61; G pp. 81-82) agrees with the Hillelite view and with Shabbat but has a further statement that Shammai "well nigh caused me to perish (*bqš l'bdny*, in Schechter, p. 144) in this world and the world to come." This further statement tends toward the opinion advanced in Version B.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 46) says that the ending in ARNB is original and was passed on by the disciples of Rabbi Eliezer, who had strong Shammaite leanings. Note that B repeats this ending at the finish of the next story, too, while A omits any ending like this there.

⁴⁸ This is the third story in the series and again it concerns the impatient Shammai and the patient Hillel. See Shab 31a where Hillel actually accepts the man as a proselyte

him : Rabbi, how many Torahs have been given from heaven ? He answered : One in writing and one orally. The man said : I only believe you about the one given in writing but I do not believe you about the one given orally. Shammai⁴⁹ became incensed with him and sent him away with a rebuke. He came into Hillel's presence and asked
p. 62 him : Rabbi, how many Torahs have been given from heaven ? Hillel answered : One in writing and one orally.⁵⁰ The man said : I only believe you about the one given in writing, but I do not believe you about the one given orally. Hillel wrote out the alphabet for him. (He then pointed to a letter)⁵¹ and asked him : What is this ? He answered : Aleph. And what is this ? He answered : Beth. Hillel asked him : Who proved to you that this is Aleph and that is Beth. He answered : I took it on faith. Hillel said : Just as you took this on faith, so you should take that on faith. The man said : Your impatience, Shammai, (almost) made me remove my soul from the life of this world and the life of the world to come; and your patience, Hillel, made me worthy to inherit the life of this world and the life of the world to come.⁵²

REPENT ONE DAY BEFORE YOUR DEATH. A story is told about Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus that he used to say to his disciples : Repent one day before your death. They said : But does a man know when he will die so that he might repent ? He responded : Every day a man should say : Today I will repent lest I die tomorrow. Thus all his days will be spent repenting; and this is the interpretation of the saying : "Let your garments be always white... (Qoh. 9:8)."⁵³

BEWARE OF THEIR GLOWING COAL LEST YOU BE SCORCHED : FOR THEIR BITE IS THE BITE OF A JACKAL, AND THEIR STING THE STING OF A SCORPION, AND THEIR HISS THE HISS OF A SERPENT.⁵⁴

before leading him to see the validity of Oral Torah. D. Daube (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* [1965], pp. 336-37) holds that Shabbat is an earlier form.

⁴⁹ Ms. R has an omission here. I follow Ms. P which reads *z'pw*, not *g'r* as in Schechter.

⁵⁰ "Orally" is *b'l ph* here, a very common expression. Just above, the expression *bph* is used with the same meaning.

⁵¹ This clause is added to complete English sense.

⁵² For this conclusion, see note 44 above.

⁵³ See parallels in Shab 153a and QohRab 9:8. Ben Sira 5:7 says : "Do not delay to turn to the Lord, nor postpone it from day to day."

⁵⁴ See PA 2:10; A, end of Ch. 15 (p. 62; G p. 82); and note 27 above. The first and last clauses of this saying in PA 2:10 are not given here. ARNA lacks one of the clauses given here. The precise text of the saying seems to have been fluid.

This final part of PA 2:10 is probably a separate saying. It has a unified theme :

the danger of the words of the sages. The first part of PA 2:10 is tripartite, the usual form of the sayings of the sages. Both Versions A and B separate the two halves of PA 2:10 and comment only on the first part. For further comment, see D. Hoffmann, *Die Erste Mischna*, p. 30.

CHAPTER THIRTY

RABBI JOSHUA SAYS : A GRUDGING EYE, EVIL IMPULSE, AND HATRED OF MANKIND REMOVE A MAN FROM THE LIFE OF THIS WORLD AND THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME.¹

p. 63 A GRUDGING EYE. This means that a man's eye must not be grudging of his friend's money nor of his sons, daughters, flock, herd and whatever else he has.²

EVIL IMPULSE. Because at the hour when a man is born the evil impulse cleaves to him.³

A parable. If a man leads a beast up to the top of the roof, it recoils,⁴ but a child runs (forward) to fall from the roof. When he is close to a fire, he runs to fall in the middle of it. When he is close to glowing coals, he stretches out his hand to grasp a handful. Why? Because the evil impulse has been cast into him.⁵

A parable. To what may this be compared? To a king who had very many fields. He had one field which was far worse than any other. The king decided to rent it out to a tenant and he rented it to one. The tenant cleared it,⁶ fertilized it, planted it, harvested the grain, winnowed it and sifted it⁷ but it only produced ten cors. The tenant brought what the field produced into the king's house. The king said to him : Bring the rest. The tenant replied : My Lord, the King, you know that this is your worst field; I have already brought what it produced into your house. Israel will speak in the same way in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He : Master of the world, you know of the evil impulse which was cast upon us, as Scripture says :

¹ See PA 2:11 and A p. 62 (G p. 82) which read "put a man out of the world."

² For other interpretations of this phrase, see Ch. 29, note 18.

³ See Sanh 91b; BerRab 34:10 (T-A, pp. 320-21); MidPs 9:5 (Braude, I, p. 135) : B Ch. 16 (p. 36) and notes 11 and 16; A pp. 62-63 (G p. 83) and pp. 63-64 (G p. 85). Ms. P reads *nzrq* ("is cast into") and this matches the expression at the end of the following parable.

⁴ I read *swldt* with Schechter in note 2. Ms. R has *swllt*; Ms. P has *swllh*.

⁵ See A p. 64 (G p. 85) for similar material. This parable gives evidence for the existence of the evil impulse as basic to man.

⁶ I translate *nreh* (from *nyr*, Jastrow, p. 909) according to Schechter's emendation. Ms. R reads *gdh*; Ms. P : *gwyh*; Ms. H : *grh*.

⁷ I translate Ms. P : *qsrh dsh zrh brrh* (Schechter, p. 171). Ms. R clearly derives from a miscopying of this.

"For the impulse of man's heart is evil from his youth... (Gen. 8:21)." Similarly Scripture says: "For he knows our frame; he remembers
p. 64 that we are dust (Ps. 103:14)."⁸

HATRED OF MANKIND. This means that God uproots from the world everyone who hates his neighbor. We found that this was the case with the men of Sodom, that God uprooted them only because they hated one another, as Scripture says: "Now the men of Sodom were evil, great sinners against the Lord (Gen. 13:13)." "Evil" to one another. "Sinners" by incest.⁹ "Great" by shedding blood. Another interpretation. "Great" by homosexuality.¹⁰

RABBI SIMEON SAYS :¹¹ BE PROMPT IN RECITING THE SHEMA. WHEN YOU STAND TO PRAY, DO NOT MAKE YOUR PRAYER SOMETHING AUTOMATIC BUT A SUPPLICATION BEFORE GOD, FOR SCRIPTURE SAYS: "FOR HE IS GRACIOUS AND MERCIFUL... (Joel 2:13)." AND DO NOT BE WICKED IN
p. 65 YOUR OWN SIGHT.¹²

RABBI JOSE SAYS : LET YOUR NEIGHBOR'S PROPERTY BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN. MAKE YOURSELF FIT FOR THE STUDY¹³ OF TORAH, FOR IT WILL NOT BE YOURS BY INHERITANCE. LET ALL YOUR ACTIONS BE FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN.¹⁴

LET YOUR NEIGHBOR'S PROPERTY BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN.¹⁵ Be as careful with your neighbor's wealth as you are with your own; (be careful) with the wealth of his sons and daughters. If you do not want a man to take what is yours, do not take what is his.¹⁶

⁸ See A p. 64 (G p. 86) and the similar idea in ExRab 46:4. This parable shows the power of the evil impulse over all of a man's life, so much so that man can elicit from the evil impulse's presence a defense for his life.

⁹ Ms. P adds here: "'to the Lord' (refers to) idolatry." This fourth phrase is also present in TosSanh 13:8; BerRab 41:7 (T-A p. 394); TanBab, *Gen.*, pp. 89-90 and *Num.*, p. 38.

¹⁰ This final interpretation does not occur in the parallels listed in the previous note. However, it does refer to the Sodomites' actions in Gen. 19. For different interpretations of Gen. 13:13, see Sanh 109a.

¹¹ Once again in B, as opposed to ARNA, Rabbi Simeon precedes Rabbi Jose. Their sayings remain with them here, unlike Ch. 29 (see note 7) where their praises get switched.

¹² See PA 2:13 and A p. 66 (G p. 90) both of which vary slightly from B and from each other. Neither A nor B presents comments on Simeon's saying.

¹³ *Umwel*, an infinitive.

¹⁴ See PA 2:12 and A p. 65 (G p. 87). See the similar statement of Rabbi Eliezer in Ch. 29 (p. 60) and notes 27 and 28 there.

¹⁵ Version B lacks the lemma, but it is supplied by Schechter. See Ch. 29 (p. 60) and note 27 there for the same phenomenon.

¹⁶ For a similar saying see pp. 53, 60, 71.

MAKE YOURSELF FIT FOR THE STUDY OF TORAH, FOR IT WILL NOT BE YOURS BY INHERITANCE. For, if Torah could come to you by inheritance a man would bequeath it to his son and to his grandson and to his sister's son throughout all generations. For we found that this was the case with Moses. When he thought that his sons would succeed him, what does Scripture say : "Moses said to the Lord : 'Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, who shall go out before them and come in before them... (Num. 27:15-17).'" Come and see what God answered : "Take Joshua... (Num. 27:18)."¹⁷

p. 66 LET ALL YOUR ACTIONS BE FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN. Like Hillel.¹⁸ When Hillel went to a place, people would say to him : Where are you going? I am going to fulfill a commandment. Which commandment, Hillel? I am going to the toilet. But is this a commandment? He answered: Yes, it is, so that the body may not deteriorate.

(Or again :) Where are you going, Hillel? I am going to fulfill a commandment. Which commandment, Hillel? I am going to the baths. But is this a commandment? He answered : Yes, it is, in order to clean the body. Know, then, that this is a fact because if the government gives an annual pension¹⁹ to the official in charge of polishing and buffing the statues²⁰ which stand in the palaces of kings and if even further he is elevated to the rank of the great men of the kingdom, then all the more we who were created in the image and likeness, as Scripture says : "For God made man in his own image (Gen. 9:6)."²¹

Shammai did not speak in this vein, but said that man must fulfill his obligation to this body.²²

RABBI ELEAZAR SAYS :²³ BE DILIGENT IN THE STUDY OF TORAH AND

¹⁷ See A p. 65 (G pp. 87-88) for a different interpretation of Joshua's succession.

¹⁸ Once again, as in previous chapters, Hillel is mentioned in connection with a disciple of Johanan ben Zakkai; for example, Ch. 29, p. 60 above. See Goldin, "Two Versions", pp. 99-100 for a comparison of this with ARNA.

¹⁹ *slyr* : see Chapter 17 (p. 38), note 14.

²⁰ *'yqwnh* : from the Greek *eikonion*. See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, pp. 40-41.

²¹ See the parallel in LevRab 34:3 (Margulies, p. 776). See also *Legends*, V, p. 82.

²² Shammai does not consider care of the body to be a commandment. Ms. H has "we must fulfill" (*n'sh*). The text reads literally : "our obligation".

²³ I follow Ms. P which has Rabbi Eleazar, rather than Eliezer as in Ms. R. Both A and PA 2:14 have Eleazar.

PA 2:14 and A p. 66 (G p. 90) and B all have slightly different versions of this saying. For the original form of the saying, see Goldin, "A Philosophical Session", pp. 4-5 and Hebrew version, pp. 71-74.

IN HOW TO ANSWER AN EPICUROS²⁴ CONCERNING THE TEACHINGS OF TORAH SO THAT THEY MAY NOT BE CONTRADICTED.²⁵ KNOW IN WHOSE PRESENCE YOU ARE TOILING AND WHO IS THE MASTER OF THE COVENANT WITH YOU, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "IN ALL YOUR WAYS ACKNOWLEDGE HIM... (Prov. 3:6)."

²⁴ For an interpretation of Epicurean here, see Goldin, "A Philosophical Session", pp. 56 and Hebrew version, pp. 74-75, where he holds that Eleazar seriously counsels preparing to answer the kind of doctrines and arguments which came from Epicureans.

²⁵ *ystyrw*. See Goldin, "*Mashehu...*," p. 73, n. 18 and the additional note by Lieberman on p. 92. The second yod in the word is a *sof pasuq* and so accented. The verb form is niph'al. See also Felix Perles in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, p. 382.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

RABBAN JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI TOOK OVER FROM HILLEL AND SHAMMAI.¹ HE USED TO SAY : IF YOU HAVE DONE² YOUR TORAH DILIGENTLY,³ TAKE NO CREDIT TO YOURSELF, BECAUSE FOR THIS END YOU WERE CREATED.⁴

This means that man was not created for vain words, but for words of Torah, as Scripture says : ("Therefore choose life, that you and your descendents may live, loving the Lord your God, obeying his voice and cleaving to him;) For that means life to you and length of days... (Dt. 30:19-20)."⁵ "Life to you" in this world; "and length of days" for the world to come.⁶

He used to say : Do not tear down⁷ pagan altars lest you be forced to build them up with your own hands. Do not tear down (altars)

¹ Johanan was added as a link in the tradition by Akiba, according to Finkelstein (*JBL* 57 [1938], 25-27 and 49-50; and *Mabo*, pp. 39-44). In A p. 57 (G p. 74) Johanan's receiving comes immediately after Hillel and Shammai. In B it comes after Johanan's disciples have been dealt with and functions as a connector between Finkelstein's second and third documents (*Mabo*, pp. 40-41 and also p. 60; see ARNB Ch. 28, n. 1). In PA the patriarchs of the first and second century, A.D., are added to the chain of tradition after Hillel and Shammai and only after them is Johanan mentioned. See A. Saldarini, "The End of the Rabbinic Chain of Tradition," *JBL* 93 (1974) 97-106.

² "To do" (*ʿsh*) can also mean "to study". See Ch. 28, n. 7.

³ "Diligently" translates the Hebrew "*hrbh*".

⁴ For almost the identical saying, see Ch. 28, end (p. 58) and also A p. 57 (G p. 74) and PA 2:8. Ms. P has the saying exactly as on p. 58. For the problem of the number of Johanan's sayings, see Ch. 28, note 6. The Gospel according to Luke says similarly : "So you also, when you have done all that is commanded you, say, 'We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty' (Luke 17:10)." See also Rabbi Jose's saying in the previous chapter (p. 65) for an exhortation to work at Torah.

⁵ This comment refers to the clause : "Because for this end you were created." Dt. 30:19-20 reads in full : "Therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live, loving the Lord your God, obeying his voice and cleaving to him; for that means life to you and length of days. ... " This shows that life depends on obeying God and therefore, for the sages, on knowing His Torah.

⁶ This final comment explains the two similar phrases in Dt. 30:20. It is not essential to the argument, but is a traditional explanation of the verse.

⁷ F. Perles, *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, p. 382, suggests *tstr*—"do not demolish".

of wood lest ⁸ they say to you : Come and build them of stone.⁹
 p. 67 If there were a plant in your hand and they should say to you :
 "Look, the messiah is here !"¹⁰ Go and plant your plant and after that
 go forth to receive him.¹¹

If the young men say to you : Let us go and build the temple, do
 no listen to them, but if the old men say to you : Come and let us tear
 down the temple, do as they say. For the building up of young men
 is a tearing down and the tearing down of old men is a building up. The
 proof of this is Rehoboam, the son of Solomon.¹²

He used to say : Force children away from pride¹³ and separate them
 from property owners¹⁴ because property owners take a man away
 from the words of Torah.

He used to say : So and so is an artisan, but does not have the tools
 of his trade. So and so has the tools of his trade but is not an artisan.
 So and so is an artisan and has the tools of his trade. They said to him :
 Rabbi, What does this mean ? He replied : So and so is wise, but does
 not do good deeds ; so he is an artisan, but does not have the tools of
 his trade. So and so does good deeds, but is not wise ; so he has the tools

⁸ Mss. R and P (Schechter, p. 171) read : "he carried you off to judgment and they say. ... " instead of "of wood". Schechter follows Ms. H. Mss. R and P are explained by a simple misreading (see the text in Schechter, note 3).

⁹ For a parallel, see MidTan, p. 58. This may have been a comment on the command to destroy pagan altars in Dt. 12:3. For a couple of possible settings for this saying, see Neusner, *Life*, 1 ed., pp. 95-96 and 105-06. Given the two following paragraphs⁴ this warning probably refers to excessive (messianic) zeal which could lead to imprudent acts against the Roman government.

¹⁰ L. Ginzberg, *JBL* 41 (1922), p. 134, n. 46, suggests that we read *mlk* for *lk* ; therefore, "Look, the king, the messiah."

¹¹ This is a very strong anti-messianic statement, expressing thoroughgoing skepticism in the claims of charismatic leaders. Planting something is more important than receiving one of the so-called messiahs.

¹² In 1 Ki. 12 Rehoboam's elder advisers tell him to lessen the people's burdens (tear down) so that they will serve him forever (build up). But his young advisers tell him to increase the people's burdens (build up) and the result is the split between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (tear down). Ms. H quotes key verses in this chapter. This saying, like the previous one, expresses skepticism at confrontations urged by the young. See parallel in the name of Simeon ben Eleazar in Meg 31b ; TosAZ 1:19.

¹³ "Pride" (*g'wn*) is often interpreted to mean "wealth". (Alon, *Toledot*, I, p. 49). Alon sees reference here to rich Jews who oppressed the poor around the time of the First Revolt. Or perhaps it read originally *hgywn* ("the science of logic") as in Ber 28b. See Lieberman, *Hellenism*, p. 103.

¹⁴ Schechter, n. 9, expresses uncertainty about the meaning of property owners here. This comment might mean that a student of Torah should keep himself from worldly cares. Or, it might be another comment against the rich—see the previous note.

of his trade but is not an artisan. So and so is wise and does good deeds; so he is an artisan and has the tools of his trade.¹⁵

He used to say : Discipline children¹⁶ so that wise men come from them. Let your left hand push them away and your right hand draw them near.¹⁷

He used to say : Because of four¹⁸ sinful things property owners are handed over to the government.¹⁹ Because they are usurious; because they store up invalid contracts;²⁰ because in public they pledge to make a charitable contribution, but do not give it; and because they throw off the yoke from themselves and put the yoke and the taxes upon the poor and unfortunate needy.²¹ Concerning them Scripture says : "Cursed be he who does not confirm the words of this law by doing them... (Dt. 27:26)." This refers to property owners.

Rabbi Judah says : The world stands on three things : on the Torah, on the Temple service and on acts of loving kindness.²²

RABBI HILLEL SAYS :²³ DO NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE COMMUNITY.

¹⁵ This expository pattern, an enigmatic, three part comparison, followed by a three part explanation, does not occur often. The parable is the more common form. Another comparison using the artisan and his tools occurs in Ch. 29 (p. 59). For a slightly different parallel, see A pp. 74-75 (G p. 99) and for a truncated version of the idea, see ExRab 40:1.

¹⁶ This is the same Hebrew phrase as that found two paragraphs previous.

¹⁷ Rather than the usual advice to discipline children, Johanan makes a more subtle suggestion—be both stern and loving.

¹⁸ Ms. R very clearly reads 'rb'h, "four". Schechter has "g" ("three") in his edition, presumably as misreading of the Ms. Ms. P. (Schechter, p. 171) has the same reading as Ms. R.

¹⁹ Once again this chapter decries the evil connected with property owners. Ch. 22 (p. 47) shows how rich people fall into the hands of the government because of excessive praise by others.

²⁰ *kbš* means literally "to press" and then "to hide" or "to store up." Here it seems to mean that these men save old bills and try to collect on them again.

²¹ The translation of this last item follows Schechter and Ms. H. Ms. R has a contracted version of this paragraph. Concerning the last charge laid on property owners, see the Gospel where Jesus levels a similar charge against the Pharisees (in Mt. 23:4) and lawyers (in Lk. 11:46).

²² This is the saying of Simeon the Just. See Ch. 5, note 2 for a discussion of its occurrence here and the differences in translation.

²³ See PA 2:4 and A p. 86 (G p. 117) for these sayings. B has a couple of variations and changes in order. In PA these sayings of Hillel occur between the chain of tradition and Johanan ben Zakkai. Here they follow Johanan. They must have been an independent and moveable unit.

The title "Rabbi" at Hillel's name is unusual. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 39, n. 64 and p. 72) thinks that it is an error. Epstein (*Mabo*, pp. 56 and 1182) thinks it is original.

PUT NO TRUST IN YOURSELF UNTIL THE DAY OF YOUR DEATH. AND DO NOT SAY : "WHEN I HAVE LEISURE I WILL STUDY"—LEST PERHAPS YOU HAVE NO LEISURE.

DO NOT SAY OF A THING THAT CANNOT²⁴ BE UNDERSTOOD THAT IN THE END IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD.

AND DO NOT SAY ANYTHING CRITICAL OF A ²⁵ MAN UNTIL YOU HAVE STOOD IN HIS PLACE.

HE USED TO SAY :²⁶ THE MORE WIVES, THE MORE WITHCRAFT.

THE MORE MAIDSERVANTS, THE MORE UNCHASITY.

THE MORE SLAVES, THE MORE ROBBERY.

THE MORE WITCHCRAFT, THE MORE EVILS.

THE MORE POSSESSIONS, THE MORE WEARINESS.

THE MORE FLESH, THE MORE WORMS.

THE MORE TORAH, THE MORE LIFE.

IF ONE ACQUIRES A GOOD NAME, HE ACQUIRES SOMETHING FOR HIMSELF.

IF ONE ACQUIRES FOR HIMSELF KNOWLEDGE OF TORAH, HE ACQUIRES FOR HIMSELF LIFE IN THE WORLD TO COME.

p. 68 Knowledge of Torah can be compared to woolen garments. Just as you cannot acquire wool easily, but can easily tear it, so knowledge of Torah is difficult to acquire and easy to lose. Foolish words are like a sackcloth garment. Just as you can easily acquire it, but cannot easily tear it, so foolish words are easy to acquire and difficult to lose.²⁷

Knowledge of Torah can be compared to gold plate. What is gold plate like? As long as a man rubs²⁸ and polishes gold plate, it shines and brightens his face. In the same way, as long as you study the words of the Torah two and three times,²⁹ they shine and brighten

²⁴ 'pšr is one form for 'y 'pšr in many editions and manuscripts, according to J. N. Epstein, *Mabo le-Nusah Ha-Mishnah*, pp. 1213-16.

²⁵ t'mr 'hr 'dm; 'hr as a preposition usually occurs in the plural construct, but here it seems to have that function in the singular. And to "say after" a man seems to mean to speak critically of him. PA and A have : "Do not judge."

²⁶ See PA 2:7 for a similar list which has extensive changes in the order of components and some extra and some changed entries. A very abbreviated version of the list appears in A p. 86 (G p. 117).

²⁷ See a similar comment in A p. 86 (G p. 117). There it is in the name of Rabban Gamaliel (II ?); here it is anonymous.

²⁸ Mss. P, H and MhM, III, p. 215 begin with špn.

²⁹ The Hebrew reads 't šwnh bhn wmslš bhn (literally : "you repeat and repeat again"). But šwnh means both "repeat" and "study" and both meanings seem to be implied, here for one studies by repeating.

your face, as Scripture says : "The commandment of the Lord is pure, brightening the eyes (Ps. 19:9)." ³⁰ But if one keeps away from them, they are as easily destroyed as glass vessels, as Scripture says : "Gold and glass cannot equal it [wisdom]... (Job 28:17)." ³¹

A *haber* ³² in the presence of an *am ha-aretz* is like a golden vessel. Once he talks with him, the *haber* is like a glass vessel. Once he eats and drinks with him, he is like an earthenware vessel. ³³

All (kinds of) vessels pass by in the marketplace and no one knows what is in them. But when a glass vessel passes by in the marketplace, people know what is in it. In the same way, lots of people pass through the marketplace and people do not talk about them. When a scholar passes through, people talk about him. ³⁴

By THREE things ³⁵ a man becomes known to mankind : whether he is a decent human being or not ; and by the way he walks, ³⁶ by the way he dresses and by the way he greets (others). And some say : Also by the way he speaks.

THREE things make a man beloved to mankind : generosity, the table he sets, and a happy frame of mind. ³⁷

In THREE things is a man tested : his conduct in business, his drinking and how long he talks. ³⁸

³⁰ See a similar comment of Elisha ben Abuya in A p. 78 (G p. 104).

³¹ Elisha ben Abuya has a similar comment which also uses Job 28:17. See p. 78 (G p. 104).

³² The *haber* has been previously treated. See Ch. 18, n. 17.

³³ The point of this paragraph is obscure. It may mean that contact between an *am ha-aretz* and a *haber* lessens the worth of the *haber*. Or it may mean that the more familiar a *haber* is with a common man, the less respect a common man will have for him. This same pattern with a slightly different point occurs in Sanh 52b in the name of Eleazar (Munich Ms.) or Eliezer.

³⁴ This paragraph is a further contrast between glass and earthenware vessels which does not exactly parallel the previous paragraph and is probably an addition. The point here seems to be that the scholar is always in the public eye.

³⁵ Now three groups of three are presented. The first of the three concerns the subject of the last paragraph, how a man's character can be seen.

³⁶ I omit *l'w* inserted by Schechter.

³⁷ This and the next saying are folksy proverbs concerned with everyday happenings. "Generosity" is *gd pšuth*. Cf. p. 48 (Ch. 23, n. 9) for *pnyim pšwtym*. "A happy frame of mind" is *qlut r'š* which means literally "lightness of head". It can also mean disregard of custom and frivolity.

³⁸ See Erub 65b where Rabbi Ilai offers the criteria : cup, purse, and anger. Some say : laughter.

RABBI NEHUNYA,³⁹ PREFECT OF THE PRIESTS, SAYS : PRAY FOR THE WELFARE OF THE EMPIRE WHICH RULES OVER US CONSTANTLY, BECAUSE WERE IT NOT FOR THE FEAR IT INSPIRES, EVERY MAN WOULD SWALLOW HIS NEIGHBOR ALIVE.⁴⁰

³⁹ The one regularly given the title "Prefect of the Priests" is Hananiah. He lived before the First Revolt and survived it. He was probably the last to hold this Temple office (Strack, p. 109, and p. 304, n. 18). PA 3:2 presents this saying in the name of Hananiah, Prefect of the Priests. However, the Mss. of ARNB have Nehunya, Prefect of the Priests. Since the first saying of Ch. 32 is Nehunya's (PA 3:5), we may conclude that Nehunya's name has been substituted for Hananiah's. But the situation is further complicated by Version A, Ch. 20 which has Nehunya's saying (PA 3:5) under the name of Hananiah, Prefect of the Priests. (See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 122-24 for the textual situation. Some Mss. of A have Nehunya.) Nehunya, too, was among the first generation of Tannaim (Strack, p. 110) and perhaps that, plus the fact that their names can be confused by inverting the first two letters (*hnnyh* and *nhwnyh*), explain the confusions.

⁴⁰ This saying is found in PA 3:2 (minus one of the phrases here) but is not found in Version A. For a possible setting for the saying, see Neusner, *Life*, 1 ed., p. 108 and and note 3. For the expression "swallow alive", see Ps. 124:2-3.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

RABBI NEHUNYA BEN HA-KANA¹ SAYS : HE WHO TAKES UPON HIMSELF THE YOKE OF TORAH WILL BE RELIEVED OF THE YOKE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE YOKE OF MUNDANE MATTERS; BUT HE WHO REMOVES FROM UPON HIMSELF THE YOKE OF TORAH WILL HAVE IMPOSED UPON HIM YOKE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE YOKE OF MUNDANE MATTERS.²

He used to say : He who gives his heart to words of Torah is relieved of words of folly. But he who gives his heart to words of folly will be deprived of words of Torah.³

RABBI JOSE SAYS : HE WHO HONORS THE TORAH WILL HIMSELF BE HONORED BY MEN; HE WHO SPURNS THE TORAH WILL HIMSELF BE SPURNED BY MEN.⁴

RABBI ISMAEL SAYS : IF ONE STUDIES IN ORDER TO TEACH, IT IS NOT GRANTED⁵ TO HIM TO STUDY AND TO TEACH; BUT IF ONE STUDIES IN ORDER TO PRACTICE, IT IS GRANTED TO HIM TO STUDY AND TO TEACH, TO OBSERVE AND TO PRACTICE.

¹ See PA 3:5. A p. 70 (G p. 94) has a similar saying in the name of Hananiah, Perfect of the Priests. The same saying occurs in the name of Simeon ben Yohai in SedElZut 16 (Friedmann, Appendix, p. 2). See Ch. 31, n. 38 for a discussion of the mix-up in names. Nehunya was a contemporary of Johanan ben Zakkai and the teacher of Rabbi Ishmael. According to Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 67-70) Rabbi Nehunya's full saying (found in A Ch. 20 under Hananiah's name) was toned down since it was so strongly against the government. In A it was left at full strength and Hananiah's pro-government opinion (PA 3:2) was suppressed.

² This saying is identical with PA 3:5. Version A (p. 70; G p. 94) has a longer version of the saying, which Finkelstein calls original (*Mabo*, pp. 68-69).

³ Version B now gives us a similar saying concerning words of folly. This category occurs in ARNA's version of the saying.

⁴ This saying occurs in PA 4:6 and A p. 83 (G p. 113). In A, I Sam. 2:30 is added, along with various interpretations. (In B Ch. 33 I Sam. 2:30 is used with a saying of Ben Zoma, a use which A omits.) Note that Jose's saying follows the pattern of Nehunya's above and Ishmael's below. (See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 73) This probably explains the order of materials here.

⁵ Mss. R and P have "it is not granted" (*'yn mspyyyn*) but the parallels in PA 4:5a and A p. 84 (G p. 114) do not have the negative. The author of ARNB was probably trying to strengthen the contrast between studying in order to teach and (better) studying in order to practice.

Ishmael is the son of Johanan ben Baroka (PA 4:5) and of the circle of Simeon ben Gamaliel II (Strack, p. 116). For a similar saying, see B Ch. 46 (p. 129) and A p. 126 (G p. 164).

RABBI JUDAH SAYS : STUDY WITH CARE, FOR ERROR IN THE COURSE OF STUDY IS ACCOUNTED AS DELIBERATE SIN.⁶

Rabbi Ishmael, the son of Rabbi Johanan ben Baroka⁷ says : You will be given of what belongs to you and called by your own name and seated in your own place. God does not forget, and no one can touch what is reserved for you.⁸

p. 69 RABBI JOHANAN BEN BAROKA SAYS : IF ONE PROFANES THE NAME OF HEAVEN IN PUBLIC, HE SHALL BE PUNISHED IN SECRET ; AND IF THE NAME IS PROFANED HE IS PUNISHED ONLY IN PUBLIC.⁹

RABBI HANINA BEN DOSA¹⁰ SAYS : IF ONE'S FEAR OF SIN TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER HIS WISDOM, HE IS DESTINED TO ENDURE ; IF HIS

⁶ See PA 4:13a and BabMez 33b. No parallel exists Version A. The subject of the saying is the same as that of the previous one, study.

⁷ I follow Ms. P. Ms. R reads Hanina ben Baroka, but no sage named Hanina ben Baroka is named elsewhere. Rabbi Ishmael (mentioned two paragraphs previously) is the son Johanan ben Baroka (PA 4:5). In addition, Hanina and Johanan are again confused below, note 10. Perhaps the letters of the two names *hnyyn'* and *ywhnn* were close enough to be confused. For another case of this, see Ch. 31, n. 38. Here in Ch. 32, a copyist's eye might have interchanged Johanan and Hanina in the two cases noted in this note and n. 10.

In this saying, we return to Ishmael, after Judah's statement was inserted for thematic reasons.

⁸ This saying occurs in the name of Ben Azzai in Yoma 38a and b ; JerYoma 3:9(41b) ; TosYoma 2:7 (p. 185) ; SongRab 3:5. It refers always to the House of Abtinas which had a bad reputation because it refused to teach others the secret of preparing the incense for the Temple. Ben Azzai praises them for not revealing the secret or putting it to secular use after the destruction of the Temple. In Yoma 38a Rabbi Ishmael occurs within the complex of sayings.

This saying may here continue the theme begun in Rabbi Ishmael's previous saying, the reward of study. Still, it is odd that so often repeated a saying has become detached like this and appears under another sage's name.

⁹ Now Ishmael's father, Johanan ben Baroka, is treated. He was a contemporary of Akiba (Strack, p. 113). The saying here does not make sense and the translation is therefore conjectural. See PA 4:4b, which says : "If one profanes the name of heaven in secret, he shall be punished in public. Unwittingly or wittingly, it is all one in profaning the name." Schechter, note 7, cannot make anything of the form of the saying in B. Version A lacks this saying.

¹⁰ Mss. P and H read Hanina ben Dosa. Ms. R reads Johanan ben Dosa, instead of Hanina. No Johanan ben Dosa occurs in Rabbinic literature. The names Johanan and Hanina were confused above (see note 7) and probably are here. Both PA 3:9 and A p. 74 (G p. 99) have Hanina with this saying. Hanina ben Dosa was a contemporary of Johanan ben Zakkai.

WISDOM TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER HIS WORKS, HE IS DESTINED NOT TO ENDURE.¹¹

A parable. To what may this be compared? To one who went to the shopkeeper and said: give me a quarter-log of wine. The shopkeeper said: Bring over your jar. So the man opened his bag for him. Then he said: Give me oil. The shopkeeper said: Bring over your jar. So the man opened his bundle¹² for him. The shopkeeper said to him: You damned idiot,¹³ you don't have a jar with you and you want to carry wine and oil. The Holy One, blessed be He, speaks this way with the wicked: You don't have good works in your possession and you want to study Torah, as Scripture says: "But to the wicked God says: 'What right have you to recite my statutes...' (Ps. 50:16)." You do not observe my statutes; how can you recite them? "For you hate discipline... (Ps. 50:17)."¹⁴

AKABYA BEN MAHALALEL SAYS: MARK WELL FOUR THINGS AND YOU WILL NOT FALL INTO THE CLUTCHES OF SIN. KNOW FROM WHERE YOU CAME; WHERE YOU ARE GOING; WHAT YOU ARE DESTINED TO BECOME; DUST, WORM, AND MAGGOT; AND WHO IS THE JUDGE OF ALL DEEDS, BLESSED BE HE.¹⁵

¹¹ PA 3:9 and A p. 74 (G p. 99) have two separate sentences, one contrasting fear of Sin + wisdom + the other works and wisdom. The two have been fused here. See Eleazar ben Azariah's statement in B p. 75 and A p. 75 (G p. 100).

¹² Ms. R reads 't *hmpwšlwt*. Ms. P has 't *hmpwšlwt*. Ms. H has *mpwšlw*. *pšl* means to knot. Therefore it may perhaps mean a bundle. Schechter, note 9, suggests the folds of the robe, that is, the man undid the knot holding his robe over his shoulder. He also includes a reading from Mogen Abot: *mšpl*.

¹³ In Hebrew: *bn m'yrah*.

¹⁴ This parable comments especially on the precedence of works over study of Torah. For this relationship, see Ch. 31, note 14.

¹⁵ For the forms of this saying, see PA 3:1 and p. 69 (G p. 93) and also Derek Erez (ed. Higger), p. 155 where it occurs in the name of Ben Zoma. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 64-67) discusses the versions and their commentaries in ARNA and B. B gives us a brief form of the saying. The third question and answer betray a lack of belief in the future life. The version of the saying in PA omits the third question and puts its answer with the second question so that becoming worm and maggot refers only to the body and not to who you are destined to be. (See Finkelstein, *Akiba*, pp. 159-60). Akabya is put after several sages instead of first in the list (as in A and PA) just because his saying was strange to later Rabbis and tended toward heresy (Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 53-55).

Akabya was a Shammaite who lived around the time of the destruction of the Temple (Finkelstein, *Akiba*, pp. 294-96) and who would not give up his extreme conservative positions on several matters to become *Ab Bet Din*, the second highest official in the Sanhedrin (Eduy 5:6).

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says : From where did he come ? From a place of fire and he returns to a place of fire. From where did he come ? From a compressed place, and he returns to a compressed place.¹⁶ From where did he come ? From a place which no creature can see ; and he returns to a place which no creature can see. From where did he come ? From an unclean place and he proceeds to make others unclean.¹⁷

p. 70 He used to say : Act while you are still present, and have the opportunity and the one to whom you can give is still present.¹⁸

RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS : PROVIDE YOURSELF WITH A TEACHER FOR WISDOM, AND AVOID DOUBTFUL MATTERS, AND DO NOT TITHE TOO MUCH BY GUESSWORK.¹⁹

SIMEON HIS SON SAYS : ALL MY LIFE I GREW UP AMONG THE SAGES AND HAVE FOUND NOTHING GREATER FOR ANYONE THAN SILENCE. STUDY

¹⁶ In his article cited in the following note (p. 137) Lieberman translates this phrase (*mqum lhw*) as a "place of compression", that is, the grave. According to this saying, we come from a compressed place, the womb, and we go to a compressed place, the grave. And, as the following sentences say, no one can see into these places and both render a person unclean.

¹⁷ This comment by Simeon ben Eleazar further elaborates on man's beginning and end. He implicitly disputes the conclusion that man merely ends as worm and maggot. The categories he uses, "place of fire", "outside", and "place no one can see" have a cosmic and mysterious ring to them, perhaps either from apocalyptic or Gnostic literature. A somewhat similar statement by Simeon (ben Johai) occurs in A pp. 69-70 (G p. 93) followed by a parable of Simeon ben Eleazar. Another similar statement in the name of Ben Azzai occurs in Derek Erez Rabba 3 (Higger, p. 155).

Lieberman sees the first answer in this saying as being parallel to common Gnostic statements that we come from God and from light—for example, The Gospel of Truth, no. 22 (ed. K. Grobel, 1960), p. 78, and the Gospel of Thomas, no. 50 (ed. A. Guillaumont et al., 1959), p. 29. But the following three sayings seem to be a protest against the Gnostics and a denial of their view of man's origin. See "How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine," in ed. Alexander Altmann, *Biblical and Other Studies* (Harvard UP, 1963), pp. 135-37.

¹⁸ See Shab 151b where a similar saying occurs : Act while you find, have the opportunity, and it is yet in your power. The Munich Ms. begins "Perform almsgiving," but this specification of the text is probably secondary. The final in ARNB does seem to refer to almsgiving, though less explicitly.

¹⁹ See PA 1:16 and A p. 75 (G p. 100). In PA Gamaliel and the following patriarchs were added to the list of those handing on the tradition, but in ARN they come after the early Tannaim, such as Hananiah, Prefect of the Priests, and Akabya. This block of material was added on here and was probably originally here, at the end of Finkelstein's third document (*Mabo*, pp. 55; 71; 73).

IS NOT THE MAIN THING; RATHER, EVERYTHING THERE DEPENDS ON DEEDS.²⁰

RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS: BY THREE THINGS IS THE WORLD SUSTAINED: BY JUSTICE, BY TRUTH AND BY PEACE, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS: "JUDGE TRUTH AND JUSTICE AND PEACE IN YOUR GATES (Zech. 8:16)."²¹

RABBI SAYS: WHICH IS THE RIGHT COURSE THAT MAN OUGHT TO CHOOSE FOR HIMSELF? WHICHEVER IS DEEMED PRAISEWORTHY BY THE ONE WHO ADOPTS IT AND [FOR WHICH] HE IS DEEMED PRAISE-WORTHY BY MEN.

BE AS ATTENTIVE TO A MINOR COMMANDMENT AS TO A MAJOR ONE, FOR YOU DO NOT KNOW WHAT REWARD IS TO BE GIVEN FOR THE COMMANDMENTS. FLEE²² FROM A MINOR TRANSGRESSION AS WELL AS A MAJOR ONE, FOR YOU DO NOT KNOW WHAT PUNISHMENTS ARE TO BE GIVEN FOR TRANSGRESSIONS. TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LOSS INCURRED BY FULFILLING A COMMANDMENT AGAINST THE REWARD FOR IT, AND THE PROFIT GAINED BY TRANSGRESSION AGAINST THE LOSS IT ENTAILS.²³

MARK WELL THREE THINGS AND YOU WILL NOT FALL INTO THE CLUTCHES OF SIN: KNOW WHAT IS ABOVE YOU—AN EYE THAT SEES, AN EAR THAT HEARS, AND ALL YOUR ACTIONS RECORDED IN THE BOOK.²⁴

²⁰ See PA 1:17 and A p. 75 (G p. 100). All three versions differ slightly. Concerning the complex relation of study and deeds, see Kid 40b, SifreDt 41 (ed. Finkelstein, pp. 84-86) and TosYeb 8 end (p. 250) The word "there" in the final clause seems to refer to what makes a sage—the thing that Rabban Gamaliel learned by this silence.

²¹ This saying occurs in Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel's name in PA 1:18. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 73-74) asserts that it is impossible to determine which Rabban Gamaliel is ment. Gamaliel II precede Simeon ben Gamaliel and Gamaliel III, who occurs below, was the son of Judah the Prince. Perhaps PA (with Simeon ben Gamaliel) is correct and the saying is here wrongly attributed to Gamaliel. PA has the advantage of preserving the chronological order. ARNA, however, omits the saying, so perhaps it was added later or was of doubtful attribution. PRK (p. 309) has it in the name of Simeon ben Gamaliel. The Jerusalem Talmud in Taan 4:2 (68a) and Meg 3:7 (74b) has this in the name of Simeon the Just.

For the other sayings in this pattern, see Rabbi Judah at the end of Ch. 4 and Simeon the Just at the beginning of Ch. 5. Did Simeon's name possibly influence the attribution of our saying to Simeon ben Gamaliel.

²² *wbwrh*. The translation supposes *hwy bwrh*, like the other verbs in this saying.

²³ See PA 2:1.

²⁴ See PA 2:1. Note the similarity to Akabya's saying, which occurred just previously. This seems to be an answer to Akabya's dangerous statement (see note 15 above). See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 77 and Albeck, IV, p. 495. God's eyes and ears on man are a common Scriptural image. For the book, see Mal. 3:16 and Dan. 7:10. Albeck, IV, p. 357 gives other verses.

RABBAN GAMALIEL SAYS : SPLENDID IS THE STUDY OF TORAH WHEN COMBINED WITH A WORLDLY OCCUPATION, FOR TOIL IN THEM BOTH PUTS SIN OUT OF MIND ; BUT ALL STUDY WHICH IS NOT COMBINED WITH WORK BECOMES FINALLY IDLENESS WHICH INCITES SIN.²⁵

HE USED TO SAY : THOSE WHO EXERCISE AUTHORITY IN THE COMMUNITY DO NOT REALLY LABOR IN THEIR BEHALF²⁶—FOR THE COVENANT²⁷ OF THEIR FATHERS HELPS THEM AND THEIR PRAYER SUSTAINS THEM. AND AS FOR YOU²⁸, I LAY UP TO YOUR CREDIT A REWARD, AS THOUGH YOU YOURSELVES HAD ACCOMPLISHED IT, IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME.

Rabban Gamaliel says : Every inferior student in the land of Israel is superior to all the excellent men in other countries. A parable. To what may this be compared ? To Indian iron which travels from place to place with ever weakening strength. It is still an improvement over that in other places.²⁹

- p. 71 He used to say : Make your private conduct like your public conduct.³⁰ Do not take a place which you left.³¹ If you do not want a man to take what is yours, do not you yourself take what is your neighbor's.³²

²⁵ See PA 2:2 and QohRab 7:11. Kid 1:10 has a similar idea. Rabban Gamaliel is identified in PA 2:2 as Gamaliel III, the son of Judah the Prince.

²⁶ This is somewhat changed from PA 2:2 .The community leaders' work is not their own. See Ber 27b where Eleazar ben Azariah is said to have been put in charge of the school at Jabne because of the merits of his ancestors. "Do not labor" is a bit strange. Alon in *Tarbiz* 20 (1949), p. 92, n. 23 suggests *hn* ("Look, they are") instead of *'yn*.

²⁷ PA 2:2 has "merit" rather than "covenant".

²⁸ "You" are those who work for the community. Even though they are supported by others, they receive a reward.

²⁹ See Simeon ben Eleazar's saying in A p. 85 (G p. 116) and see also the anonymous last saying in Ch. 27 (p. 85; G pp. 115-16). The basic comparison in B could be between the least of Jewish students and the best non-Jewish scholars, or perhaps with ARNA between Jewish scholars who stay in Israel and those who go to foreign countries. This latter point is part of the strain of rabbinic propaganda against leaving the land of Israel during the late second century and later, after Palestine had been devastated by two revolts.

The Indian iron mentioned in the parable is the best iron, used for weapons (AZ 16a). For the deterioration of Israel outside the Holy Land, see L. Ginzberg, English introduction to *The Palestinian Talmud*, p. 24 (reprinted in *On Jewish Law and Lore* [Atheneum, 1970] pp. 13-24).

³⁰ See A p. 86 (G p. 117) where this saying occurs in the name of Rabbi Judah the Prince.

³¹ The Mss. are very difficult and the translation uncertain.

³² See this saying previously in B Ch. 26 (p. 53); Ch. 29 (p. 60); and Ch. 30 (p. 65).

RABBI JUDAH THE PRINCE SAYS : DO HIS WILL AS THOUGH IT WERE YOUR WILL SO THAT HE MAY DO YOUR WILL AS THOUGH IT WERE HIS WILL ; UNDO YOUR WILL FOR THE SAKE OF HIS WILL SO THAT HE MAY UNDO THE WILL OF OTHERS FOR THE SAKE OF YOUR WILL.³³

He used to say : If you have done His will as though it were your will, you have not yet done His will as He wills it. But if you have done His will as though it were not your will, then you have done His will as He wills it. Is it your wish not to die ? Die, so that you will not need to die. Is it your wish to live ? Do not live, so that you may live. It is better for you to die in this world, where you will die against your will, than to die in the age to come, where, if you wish, you need not die.³⁴

Every student³⁵ who profanes the name of heaven will not be given an opportunity to repent, as Scripture says : "A brother helped by a brother is like a strong city, but quarreling is like the bars of a castle. From the fruit of his mouth a man is satisfied : he is satisfied by the yield of his lips. Death and life are in the power of the tongue, and those who love it will eat its fruits (Prov. 18:19-21)."³⁶

What does Scripture mean by "Like the bars of a castle" ? This refers to the judges³⁷ coming against him "like the bars of a castle". Similarly Scripture says : "Because they do not regard the works of the Lord, or the work of his hands, he will break them down and build them up no more (Ps. 28:5)." Since³⁸ Scripture says : "He will break them down", the reference is to this world ; "and build them up no more" is a reference to the world to come. "But those who seek the Lord lack no good thing (Ps. 34:11)."

³³ See PA 2:4a. The Mss. are difficult.

³⁴ See Tamid 32a and Sifra 93d for a similar thought. The Gospels, also, contain a like idea : "For whoever would save his life will lose it and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it (Mt. 16:25)." See also Luke 17:33 and John 12:25-26.

³⁵ This paragraph does not refer to what went before. It comprises a series of verses and interpretations with no unified point. The general theme is punishment.

³⁶ The point of this verse is the power of the tongue both in quarreling (v. 18) and in bringing death and life (v. 19). But the verse does not explicitly prove that one who profanes the name of heaven will not have a chance to repent.

³⁷ Read *mdnym* with Ms. P. See Schechter, p. 172.

³⁸ "Since" (*wtwk*) is a rough transition and may be a corruption.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

RABBI AKIBA SAYS :¹ A HEDGE ABOUT WISDOM—SILENCE ; A HEDGE ABOUT HONOR— NOT TO BE FRIVOLOUS ; A HEDGE ABOUT HOLY THINGS— PURITY ; A HEDGE ABOUT VOWS—ABSTINENCE ; A HEDGE ABOUT TORAH—TRADITION.²

He used to say : Do not dwell among the heathen lest you worship
p. 72 idols.³

Do not eat bread with a priest of the *am ha-aretz* lest he feed you consecrated food.

Do not get into oath-taking lest you come into vowing.⁴

Do not enter into doubt lest you fall into certain (sin).⁵

Do not become frivolous lest you enter into transgression.

AND WHERE THERE ARE NO MEN, STRIVE TO BE A MAN.

HE USED TO SAY : THE TIMID CANNOT LEARN AND THE SHORT-

¹ This chapter of ARNB begins the equivalent of Finkelstein's fourth document contained in PA (*Mabo*, p. 75). ARNA has four successive chapters, each beginning with one of the four who, according to Hag 14b, went into the orchard (to study mystical lore). Version A has the order Ben Zoma, Elisha ben Abuyah, Ben Azzai and Akiba, each followed by a substantial body of material and with some other sayings interspersed. Version B and PA have the four in this order : Akiba, Ben Zoma, Ben Azzai and Elisha ben Abuyah. They do not each have a chapter and Akiba and Elisha are widely separated from Ben Zoma and Ben Azzai. Still, they are probably the unifying factor for this part of PA and ARNB, as Finkelstein says (*Mabo*, pp. 75-77 and *JBL* 57 [1938], 22-24). Finkelstein theorizes that Elisha originally came first, but after his apostasy, the editor of A moved him to second. The editors of PA and B put him last and put Akiba, by now the greatest of the four, first.

² See PA 3:13 and A p. 82 (G p. 111) for approximately the same saying. Making a hedge about Torah was treated previously in Chs. 1-3 (pp. 3-14).

³ This and the following three paragraphs are found in A p. 82 (G p. 111) in the same order with one additional saying and some variations. After these paragraphs, Version A goes on to lay great emphasis on the advantages of dwelling in the land of Israel. See Ch. 32 (p. 70 bottom) and note 29 there.

⁴ Version A has oath and vow interchanged in comparison to their place here. The version of the saying in B makes more sense in that a vow was more specific and binding than a general kind of oath. (A judicial oath was, of course, extremely serious, but that type of oath is not at issue in this comparison. We are talking of a kind of spontaneous promise a man might make.)

⁵ See G, p. 111 and note 5 by Julian Obermann. The doubt referred to is probably a case of doubtful conscience. By playing close to the line like this, one will eventually fall into real sin.

TEMPERED CANNOT TEACH. THE BOOR IS NO FEARER OF SIN. HE WHO IS MOSTLY IN TRADE WILL NOT GROW WISE, AND THE AM-HA-ARETZ CANNOT BE AN OBSERVANT SAINT.⁶

BEN ZOMA SAYS :⁷ WHO IS A WISE MAN ? HE THAT LEARNS FROM ALL MEN, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "FROM ALL MY TEACHERS I HAVE GOT UNDERSTANDING (Ps. 119:99)."

WHO IS AN HONORABLE MAN ? HE THAT HONORS MANKIND, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "FOR THOSE WHO HONOR ME I WILL HONOR, AND THOSE WHO DESPISE ME SHALL BE LIGHLY ESTEEMED (1 Sam. 2:30)."

WHO IS A MIGHTY MAN ? HE THAT SUBDUES HIS EVIL IMPULSE, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "HE WHO IS SLOW TO ANGER IS BETTER THAN THE MIGHTY, AND HE WHO RULES HIS SPIRIT THAN HE WHO TAKES A CITY (Prov. 16:32)."

WHO IS A RICH MAN ? HE THAT IS CONTENT WITH HIS PORTION, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "YOU SHALL EAT THE FRUIT OF THE LABOR OF YOUR HANDS; YOU SHALL BE HAPPY, AND IT SHALL BE WELL WITH YOU (Ps. 128:2)." "YOU SHALL BE HAPPY" IN THIS WORLD, "AND IT SHALL BE WELL WITH YOU" IN THE WORLD TO COME.

He used to say : Do not look into a man's orchard. If you have looked, do not go down into it. If you have gone in,⁸ do not stare (at the fruit).⁹ If you stared, do not touch. If you touched, do not eat. If a man eats, he removes his soul from the life of this world and the life of the world to come.¹⁰

Ben Azzai says : It is a good sign for one if his body was affected

⁶ These maxims occur in PA 2:5, in the name of Hillel, in a different order and with "He used to say" at the beginning of the paragraph. The position of "He used to say" here argues to some dislocation. Version A, p. 82 (G p. 112) has only the *am ha-aretz*, the Timid and the Short-Tempered in the chapter on Akiba. "Observant saint" translates *ḥsyd prwš*.

⁷ See PA 4:1 where the honorable man comes last. A p. 75 (G p. 101) replaces the honorable man with the humble man as the second entry in the list and then switches the order of the last two entries.

⁸ Ms. R reads *yrdt*, as Schechter notes in his correction, p. 172.

⁹ Context implies that he is looking at the fruit.

¹⁰ This paragraph is a comment on the last part of Ben Zoma's saying, "Be content with your portion." Ps. 128:2 suggests the theme of the orchard by speaking of the "fruit of the labor of your hands." The orchard is also the place where Ben Zoma and the other three study Merkabah mysticism. See a text in Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1965), p. 77, n. 6, which uses similar language. But the same language is used in SedElRab Ch. 8 (p. 43) of Egypt touching God's orchard (Israel).

before his learning was; if after his learning, it is a bad sign for him.¹¹ If anyone's spirit is pleased with him,¹² it is a good sign for him.

HE USED TO SAY : RECOIL FROM A SLIGHT SIN SO THAT YOU WILL RECOIL FROM A SERIOUS SIN.¹³ Anticipate what is commanded lest punishment overtake you first. If you fell into transgression, do not worry (so much) about that transgression as about the transgression which will follow it. And if you observed a commandment, do not be happy so much about that observance as about the commandment which will follow it. ¹⁴ FOR ONE COMMANDMENT LEADS TO ANOTHER COMMANDMENT AND ONE TRANSGRESSION LEADS TO ANOTHER TRANSGRESSION. THE REWARD OF A COMMANDMENT (CARRIED OUT) IS A COMMANDMENT (TO BE CARRIED OUT), AND THE REWARD OF A TRANSGRESSION IS ANOTHER TRANSGRESSION.¹⁵

He used to say : If thus and so, then thus and so.¹⁶

¹¹ This sentence is vaguely like the series of sentences that open Ch. 25 of Version A (Ben Azzai's chapter) but its point is not as clear as theirs. See also TosBer 3:4 and Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshuto*, Pt. 1, p. 28, where a similar saying occurs in Ben Azzai's name.

¹² The pattern of "good sign, bad sign" has been broken here, probably through some confusion. The expression "his spirit is pleased with him" occurs in PA 3:10a. It probably means : "If he is content."

¹³ This sentence seems to be a variant of PA 4:2a : "Be quick in carrying out a minor commandment as in the case of a major one."

¹⁴ A thought similar to this one occurs near the end of A Ch. 25 in Ben Azzai's name and just before what follows below here in B. These sentences here seem to be a paraphrase of the saying from PA which follows.

¹⁵ See PA 4:2b and A p. 81 (G p. 110).

¹⁶ This saying could obviously accommodate a wide range of meaning. Its presence in this context gives it the meaning that like follows like; that is, a commandment carried out leads to the carrying out of another commandment and a transgression leads to another transgression. The saying is probably a folk saying brought to bear on this paragraph. For another idiomatic folk saying using *kk* see p. 82, last line.

kk wkk is also an abbreviated form of an oath. Instead of giving the actual words of the oath, "Thus and so" is used as a euphemism (Lieberman, *Greek*, pp. 123-24). See ARNB p. 40:29ff. for this use. If this is its meaning in this context, it might be construed "For saying 'Thus and so' (the oath), the punishment will be thus and so." This would be a kind of measure for measure.

Mss. H and P have a version of the saying which differs from Ms. R, translated in our text. '*m kk wkk hry kk 'd šyh*' (H : *šyhyh*) *kk wkk* : '*l 'ht kmh wkmh šyh*' *kk wkk*. A possible translation : If thus and so, then (it remains) so until it will be (become) thus and so [something different ?]; how much the more that it should be (become ?) thus and so." Translating the saying as given in Ms. R along these lines, we get : "If that is the way it is, then that is the way it should be."

p. 73 Move two or three seats from your place and sit down, as Scripture says : "For it is better to be told, 'Come up here,' than to be put lower in the presence of princes (Prov. 25:7)."¹⁷

It is easier to rule over all men than to speak on the basis of two or three witnesses dressed in linen.¹⁸

RABBI NEHORAI SAYS : BETAKE YOURSELF TO A PLACE OF TORAH. DO NOT SAY : "IT WILL COME AFTER ME," OR THAT YOUR COMPANIONS WILL SET IT UP FOR YOU TO MASTER ; "AND DO NOT RELY ON YOUR OWN UNDERSTANDING (Prov. 3:5)."¹⁹

RABBI JANNAI SAYS : We did not enter into the tranquillity of the wicked nor did we attain the suffering of the righteous.

WITHIN OUR REACH IS NEITHER THE TRANQUILLITY OF THE WICKED NOR THE SUFFERING OF THE RIGHTEOUS.²⁰

RABBI JACOB SAYS : THIS WORLD IS LIKE A FOYER LEADING INTO THE WORLD TO COME—PREPARE YOURSELF IN THE FOYER SO THAT YOU MAY ENTER INTO THE INNER CHAMBER.

HE USED TO SAY : RICHER IS ONE HOUR OF REPENTANCE AND GOOD WORKS IN THIS WORLD THAN ALL OF LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME ; AND RICHER IS ONE HOUR'S CALM OF SPIRIT IN THE WORLD TO COME THAN ALL OF LIFE OF THIS WORLD.²¹

¹⁷ In ARNB Ch. 1 (p. 3) Ben Azzai has another enigmatic saying. In A (pp. 81-82; G pp. 110-11) this saying and the one following it also occur after PA 4:2, but in a context where restraint and humility are urged. Here they are isolated, thematically, from their surroundings. See a similar saying in the Gospel according to Luke 14:7-11

¹⁸ Linen was a garment of the rich and upper classes. See A p. 82 (G p. 110) where the same comment is made about teaching in the presence of people who wear linen. In the Gospel of Luke 16:19 linen is the sign of a rich man. Version B implies that the witness of the rich is suspect.

¹⁹ See PA 3:14 and A p. 75 (G p. 101) for Rabbi Nehorai's saying. It may refer to the case of Eleazar ben Arak (Ch. 29 and note 11). In ARNA it is followed by a series of sayings concerned with study. Here in B it is followed by the next four sayings of PA. So, PA 3:14-18 must have existed as a block of sayings in some tradition or been brought here from PA. ARNA does not have these sayings together.

Rabbi Nehorai belonged to the post-Hadrianic generation of teachers and probably lived in Sepphoris, which was one of the centers of Galilee (Strack, p. 116; Bacher, II, pp. 377-83).

²⁰ The second sentence of Rabbi Jannai's saying is PA 4:15a. Rabbi Jannai was of the first generation of Amoraim and a pupil of Hiyya the Elder; he lived in Sepphoris, like Rabbi Nehorai of the previous saying. The two other Amoraim in ARNB are : Abba in Ch. 25 (p. 52) and R. Jeremiah in Ch. 36 (p. 91).

²¹ The two sayings of Rabbi Jacob are found in PA 4:16-17. He was of the generation of Rabbi Judah the Prince (Strack, p. 116).

RABBI SIMEON BEN ELEAZAR SAYS : DO NOT APPEASE YOUR FRIEND IN HIS HOUR OF ANGER ; DO NOT SIT DOWN TO COMFORT HIM WHILE THE DEAD IS STILL LAID OUT BEFORE HIM ;²² DO NOT QUESTION HIM IN THE HOUR OF HIS VOW ; AND DO NOT STRIVE TO SEE HIM IN HIS HOUR OF MISFORTUNE.²³

RABBI MEIR SAYS :²⁴ IF YOU TOILED AWAY AT THE STUDY OF TORAH IN THIS WORLD, THERE IS A RICH REWARD TO BE GIVEN YOU. IF YOU HAVE NEGLECTED THE TORAH IN THIS WORLD, YOU WILL HAVE MANY WHO BRING YOU TO NEGLECT.²⁵

HE USED TO SAY : ENGAGE BUT LITTLE IN BUSINESS, AND BE BUSY WITH THE TORAH AND QUICK TO DO THE COMMANDMENTS. CONDUCT YOURSELF WITH A HUMBLE SPIRIT TOWARD EVERYONE.

²² The custom was to comfort the bereaved at the cemetery after the burial. See Semahot 10:6ff. (Zlotnick, pp. 73-74) ; Sanh 2:1.

²³ See PA 4:18 and A Ch. 29 (p. 87 ; G p. 119). Albeck, IV, p. 372 shows that each of these instructions is for the man's own good as do the commentaries of Rashi and Maimonides.

The saying in A is by Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar in the name of Rabbi Meir. Simeon was a pupil of Meir (Strack, p. 117).

²⁴ Now comes Rabbi Meir, the teacher of Simeon ben Eleazar. First, PA 4:10b is given and then 4:10a with slight changes.

²⁵ See Ch. 15 (p. 34) for thoughts about working at Torah. Goldin, *Talmud*, p. 166, translates : "You will have many who bring you to neglect it." Cf. also ARNA p. 87 (G p. 119) for a similar expression.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

RABBI DOSA BEN HARKINAS¹ SAYS : MORNING SLEEP, MIDDAY WINE, CHILDREN'S PRATTLE AND SITTING IN THE GATHERING PLACES OF THE AM HA-ARETZ DRIVE A MAN AWAY FROM THE LIFE OF THIS WORLD AND FROM THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME.

He used to say : Everyone who separates himself from these four things is second to the ministering angels.

p. 74 RABBI HANANIAH BEN TERADYON SAYS :² WHENEVER TWO OR THREE SIT TOGETHER IN THE MARKETPLACE AND THE WORDS BETWEEN THEM ARE NOT OF TORAH, THEN THAT IS A SESSION OF SCORNERS, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "NOR SITS IN THE SEAT OF SCORNERS (Ps. 1:1)."

RABBI ELEAZAR BEN RABBI ZADOK SAYS :³ WHENEVER TWO OR THREE SIT AND EAT AT ONE TABLE AND DO NOT SPEAK WORDS OF TORAH, IT IS AS THOUGH THEY HAD EATEN OF THE SACRIFICES OF THE DEAD, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "FOR ALL TABLES ARE FULL OF FILTHY VOMIT, WHEN GOD⁴ IS ABSENT (Is. 28:8)."

RABBI HALAFTA OF SEPPHORIS⁵ SAYS : IF TWO OR THREE SIT TOGETHER

¹ Dosa ben Harkinas was a contemporary of Johanan ben Zakkai and a Shammaite (Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 53 and 58). His father's name was really Greek : *Archinos* (Strack, p. 111 and p. 306, n. 9). Rabbi Dosa's saying comes at PA 3:10b and A Ch. 21 (p. 71 ; G p. 97), a relatively earlier position than that in B. In A the saying has a full chapter of commentary, while here in B it is complemented only by an auxiliary saying couched in the positive. In PA 3:9 and 10a this saying is preceded by Hanina ben Dosa and in A p. 74 (G p. 99) it is followed by him because Hanina was mistakenly thought to be this Dosa's son. Many of the sages in this chapter are, like Dosa, of the late first and early second generation of Tannaim.

² See PA 3:2b for this saying. PA 3:2c deals with how the numbers two and three are derived. See Ch. 18, n. 4. This and the two following sayings all come from PA Ch. 3 and concern constant discussion of Torah. Much of the rest of this chapter in B concerns the learning of Torah and its relation to other virtues. Little of this material appears in ARNA, even though A usually emphasizes Torah (Goldin, "Two Versions"). Hanina ben Teradyon was a contemporary of Akiba (Bacher, I, pp. 394-97) and so of the second generation of Tannaim.

³ See PA 3:3a where it is in the name of Rabbi Simeon, a pupil of Akiba. The second half of the saying in PA gives the positive side. Rabbi Eleazar ben Zadok could be a contemporary of Johanan's disciples or a second Eleazar, a contemporary of Simeon. Bacher (I, p. 48, n. 2) attributes the saying to the first Rabbi Eleazar.

⁴ The word *maqom* ("place") in Isaiah is interpreted according to its Mishnaic meaning, "God".

⁵ Halafta was the father of Rabbi Jose and was a leader in Sepphoris ; he had contact

IN THE MARKETPLACE AND THE WORDS BETWEEN THEM ARE OF TORAH, THEN THE SHEKINAH IS REVEALED TO THEM, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "THEN THOSE WHO FEARED THE LORD SPOKE WITH ONE ANOTHER ; THE LORD HEEDED AND HEARD THEM... (Mal. 3:16)."

RABBI LEVITAS OF JAMNIA SAYS : BE OF AN EXCEEDINGLY HUMBLE SPIRIT, FOR THE END OF MAN IS THE WORM AND OF A HUMAN BEING THE MAGGOT.⁶

He used to say : The beast differs from man in four ways : Man's bowels stink ; the beast's do not. Man has a sweaty smell ; the beast does not.⁷ Man has the evil impulse ; the beast does not. Man's life span was shortened ; the beast's was not.⁸

RABBI MATTIAH BEN HERESH SAYS : ON MEETING ANY MAN BE THE
p. 75 FIRST TO EXTEND GREETINGS ; AND BE A TAIL TO LIONS RATHER THAN A HEAD TO FOXES.⁹

RABBI HANANIAH BEN HAKINAI SAYS : IF ONE WAKES IN THE NIGHT, OR WALKS BY HIMSELF ON THE HIGHWAY, AND TURNS HIS HEART TO IDLE MATTERS, IT IS A BAD SIGN FOR HIM.¹⁰ One should only labor at

with Haninah ben Teradyon, mentioned two paragraphs previously (Taan 16b ; MishTaan 2:5 ; see Hyman, *Toledot*, II, pp. 452-53). PA 3:6 is in the name of Rabbi Halafta of Kefar Hananiah, who only occurs in one other place as Abba Halafta handing on a saying of Rabbi Meir (BabMez 94a ; Bacher, II, pp. 551-52). Neither Halafta is well known enough to decide between them with certainty. Halafta of Sepphoris might have been put here because of his connection with Hananiah ben Teradyon. He would also fit into the group of second generation Tannaim in this chapter. Furthermore, Sepphoris, might have been changed to Kefar Hananiah through association with the two Hananiah's in PA 3:2 and 4. However, this is only speculation. The saying as it occurs in PA deals with groups of 10, 5, 3, 2, and 1. See Ch. 18, n. 4.

⁶ See PA 4:4a. Version B has one small addition. Cf. Job 25:6. Rabbi Levitas of Jamnia (second generation) was a contemporary of Johanan's disciples and has only a few sayings recorded (Bacher, I, p. 444).

⁷ See B p. 116 (Ch. 42).

⁸ See *Legends*, V, p. 130 top.

⁹ See PA 4:15b and for the last clause, see A Ch. 29, end (p' 89 ; G p. 122). Mattiah ben Heresh taught immediately before the Bar Kosiba Revolt. He went to Rome along with other scholars (Bacher, I, pp. 380-83). For this proverb's relation to a contrary Roman proverb of Caesar (in Plutarch, Caesar, 11), see Lieberman, *Greek*, pp. 146-48. For Mattiah's proverb turned around, see JerSanh 4:10 (22b).

¹⁰ See PA 3:4. PA 3:2, 3 and 6 have occurred previously in this chapter. "It is a bad sign for him" is a stereotyped end of a saying, as in Ch. 33 (p. 72) under the name of Ben Azzai (see also the parallel there in A). PA 3:4 has "He is mortally guilty."

Hananiah ben Hakinai was a pupil of Akiba and a member of the second generation (Strack, p. 114). ARNA p. 87 (G p. 120) has a similar saying in the name of Jacob ben Hananiah. B Ch. 35, p. 79 (see note 7 there) has a similar saying by Haniniah ben Hakilai,

the words of Torah, as Scripture says : "When you walk, it will lead you... (Prov. 6:22)." ¹¹

RABBI DOSA HA-BABLI SAYS : HE WHO LEARNS FROM YOUNGSTERS IS LIKE UNRIPE GRAPES AND WINE FROM THE VAT. HE WHO LEARNS FROM THE OLD IS LIKE RIPE GRAPES AND OLD WINE. ¹²

RABBI SAYS : DO NOT LOOK AT THE JUG BUT AT ITS CONTENTS—THERE ARE NEW JUGS FILLED WITH OLD WINE, AND OLD ONES WITHOUT EVEN A DROP IN THEM ; THEY ARE MERELY FILLED WITH URINE. ¹³

RABBI ELEAZAR BEN AZARIAH ¹⁴ SAYS : WHERE THERE IS NO WISDOM, THERE IS NO FEAR ; WHERE THERE IS NO FEAR, THERE IS NO WISDOM. ¹⁵ WHERE THERE IS NO RIGHT CONDUCT, THERE IS NO TORAH ; WHERE THERE IS NO TORAH, THERE IS NO RIGHT CONDUCT.

HE USED TO SAY : WHERE THERE IS NO PERCEPTION, THERE IS NO KNOWLEDGE ; WHERE THERE IS NO KNOWLEDGE, THERE IS NO PERCEPTION. WHERE THERE IS NO BREAD, THERE IS NO TORAH ; WHERE THERE IS NO TORAH, THERE IS NO BREAD.

HE USED TO SAY : HE WHOSE WISDOM EXCEEDS HIS WORKS, TO WHAT MAY HE BE LIKENED ? TO A TREE WHOSE BRANCHES ARE NUMEROUS BUT WHOSE ROOTS ARE FEW. THE WIND COMES ALONG AND UPROOTS IT AND
p. 76 SWEEPS IT DOWN. BUT HE WHOSE WORKS EXCEED HIS WISDOM, TO WHAT MAY HE BE LIKENED ? TO A TREE WHOSE BRANCHES AND ROOTS

a sage not found elsewhere. The two names seem to be variants. Schechter, p. xxi concludes from this repetition that the compiler drew from two sources and that Chapter 35 is out of place. Furthermore, for other reasons Johanan ben Zakkai and his five disciples may have been where Ch. 35 is, according to Schechter.

¹¹ This addition to PA 3:4 turns it toward study of Torah, the theme of this chapter.

¹² See PA 4:20b with slight changes in phraseology. The name Dosa Ha-Babli does not occur elsewhere. Dosa ben Harkinas occurs at the beginning of the chapter. In PA the saying comes under the name of Jose bar Judah of Kefar Ha-Babli, who is cited there only in rabbinic literature. The authorship of this saying seems confused.

¹³ This saying of Rabbi Judah the Prince continues the theme of the previous sentence and is found right after it in PA 4:20c.

¹⁴ These three paragraphs in the name of Eleazar ben Azariah (second generation) are in PA 3:17 and A p. 75 (G p. 100) with some minor changes. The saying deals with the limits and conditions of wisdom and Torah and probably occurs in this relatively late position in Version B because it fits the theme of this chapter. See also PA 1:17 and 3:9 ; B Ch. 32, n. 11 for similar patterns.

¹⁵ In the Bible, especially in the wisdom literature, fear of the Lord is the fundamental and soundest of religious motives. It means something like reverence and it leads to knowledge and obedience. See Prov. 1:7 ; 9:10 ; 15:33 ; Ps. 111:10 ; also Sirach 1:14. Wisdom is not speculative knowledge, but knowledge which leads to action. In Sirach 24:1-23 (see also Moore, I, pp. 37-38) wisdom is identified explicitly with the Law of Moses, the Torah.

ARE NUMEROUS. EVEN IF ALL THE WINDS OF THE WORLD COME ALONG AND BLOW AGAINST IT THEY CANNOT STIR IT FROM ITS PLACE.¹⁶

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says: Everyone whose (good) works exceed his wisdom, to what may he be likened? To the rider of a horse with a bit in its mouth, who turns the horse in whatever direction he wants. Everyone whose wisdom exceeds his (good) works, (to what may he be likened)? To the rider of a horse without a bit in its mouth, who rides on the horse and falls and breaks his neck.¹⁷

RABBI NATHAN SAYS: LET THE HONOR OF YOUR DISCIPLE BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN, AND THE HONOR OF YOUR COMRADE AS THE HONOR OF YOUR MASTER, AND THE HONOR OF YOUR MASTER AS THE FEAR OF HEAVEN.¹⁸

LET THE HONOR OF YOUR DISCIPLE BE AS DEAR TO YOU AS YOUR OWN. We find that this was the case with Moses, our Master, may he rest in peace. He put his own honor on a level with that of his disciple, Joshua, as Scripture says: "Choose for us men and go out, fight with Amalek... (Ex. 17:9)." It does not say: "Choose for *me* men," but "Choose for *us* men." This shows that Moses equated his honor with that of his disciple, Joshua.

LET THE HONOR OF YOUR COMRADE BE AS THE HONOR OF YOUR MASTER, as Scripture says: "You shall speak all that I command you and Aaron your brother shall tell Pharaoh... (Ex. 7:2)."¹⁹

LET THE HONOR OF YOUR MASTER BE AS THE FEAR OF HEAVEN, as

¹⁶ See the Gospel according to Matthew, 7:24-27 and Luke, 6:47-49, where the man who hears Jesus' words and *does them* is compared to a man who builds his house on rock so that it is not washed away in the flood. For similar sayings in the name of Elisha ben Abuyah, see A ch. 24 (p. 77; G p. 103).

¹⁷ Simeon ben Eleazar of the fourth generation was a contemporary of Rabbi and was possibly son of Eleazar ben Shammua (Strack, p. 117; Bacher, II, p. 422). The following sayings are all from men of this generation. Simeon's saying is parallel to the previous one in form and message. It occurs in the name of Elisha ben Abuyah in A Ch. 24 (p. 77; G p. 103).

¹⁸ Rabbi Nathan was a contemporary of Rabbi. His saying receives a full commentary, unlike the other sayings in Chs. 32-35. This saying occurs with one alteration in PA 4:12 and in A Ch. 27 (pp. 84-85; G pp. 115-16). See also Mech to Ex. 17:9 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 140-41). In Version A it only has a short commentary and in A and PA it is under the name of Eleazar ben Shammua (third generation), a disciple Akiba. For a similar theme, see Eleazar's saying in Ch. 29 and the notes there.

¹⁹ Moses is told to speak all that God commands and Aaron will tell Pharaoh. The parallel roles illustrate the meaning of this saying, PA and ARNB speak of the fear of your master, but fear and honor in this context are much the same thing.

Scripture says : "He shall speak for you to the people ; and he shall be a mouth for you, and you shall be to him as God (Ex. 4:16)."²⁰

Everyone who reviles his fellow for the sake of heaven, will in the end depart from him in honor.²¹ Moses reviled Pharaoh for the sake of heaven and departed from him in honor, as Scripture says : "And all these your servants shall come down to me and bow down to me... (Ex. 11:8)." Where are we taught that he departed from him in honor ? Scripture says : "Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants and in the sight of the people (Ex. 11:3)."

Everyone who honors his fellow against the interests of heaven, will in the end depart from him in disgrace. For we find that this was the case with Balak: that he honored Balaam, as Scripture says : "Once again Balak sent princes, more in number and more honorable than they. And they came to Balaam and said to him, 'Thus says Balak the son of Zippor : "Let nothing hinder you from coming to me ; for I will surely do you great honor and whatever you say to me I will do..." ' (Num. 22:15-16)." And where are we taught that he departed from him in disgrace ? Scripture says : "And Balak said to Balaam :... 'Therefore now flee to your place ; I said, "I will certainly honor you,' but the Lord has held you back from honor" ' (Num. 24:10-11)."²²

Rabbi Eleazar Hakkappar²³ says : Do not be dependent on justice,²⁴ do not fear him who is greater than you ; and make... your enemies.²⁵

RABBI ELIEZER, HIS SON, SAYS : HE WHO REFRAINS FROM JUDGMENT RIDS HIMSELF OF ENMITY, ROBBERY, AND FALSE SWEARING. BUT HE

²⁰ The daring metaphor of Moses being Aaron's God leads to the conclusion that one's fear and reverence for his master should be like that for God.

²¹ This paragraph deals with an implied exception to Rabbi Nathan's saying : Moses reviling Pharaoh or more generally Israel reviling its enemies. See A p. 88 (G pp. 120-21) where it occurs in the name of Eleazar Hakkappar, a sage who occurs below in B.

²² See A p. 88 (G p. 120-21). See also B Ch. 23 (p. 48) and note 8 ; and Ch. 45 (p. 125) for evaluations of Balaam.

²³ Eleazar Hakkappar ("the dealer in asphalt") was of the fourth generation of Tannaim and father of Bar Kappara. See Bacher, II, pp. 500-02.

²⁴ "Do not be dependent on justice" or "(courts of) justice" is not a clear sentence here. The force of *zqwq* is lost on me. It seems to follow the theme of judgment, also found in the following paragraph. Perhaps it means "Do not be constantly engaged in legal proceedings."

²⁵ The untranslated word is, in Hebrew *šwq* (or *šwq* ?) *šwq* can mean "desire" or "marketplace." Neither meaning fits here. Schechter (n. 14) suggests : "make peace with your enemies."

WHO IS PRESUMPTUOUS IN RENDERING DECISION IS A FOOL, WICKED AND ARROGANT. DO NOT ACT THE JUDGE'S PART BY YOURSELF ALONE, FOR NONE MAY ACT THE JUDGE'S PART BY HIMSELF ALONE— SAVE ONE. AND DO NOT SAY : "ADOPT MY VIEW"—FOR THEY [THE MAJORITY OF THE JUDGES] ARE AUTHORITATIVE, BUT NOT YOU.²⁶

HE USED TO SAY :²⁷ ENVY, LUST, AND DESIRE FOR GLORY PUT A MAN OUT OF THIS WORLD AND OUT OF THE LIFE OF THE WORLD TO COME.

HE USED TO SAY : THE ONES WHO WERE CREATED ARE TO DIE, AND THE ONES WHO HAVE DIED ARE TO BE BROUGHT TO LIFE AGAIN, AND THE ONES WHO ARE BROUGHT TO LIFE ARE TO BE SUMMONED TO JUDGMENT— SO THAT ONE MAY KNOW AND MAKE KNOWN THAT HE IS A WITNESS AND KNOWS AND WILL SUMMON TO JUDGMENT, HE IN WHOSE PRESENCE IS NEITHER INIQUITY, NOR FORGETFULNESS, NOR RESPECT OF PERSONS, NOR TAKING OF BRIBES. AND DO NOT LET YOUR IMPULSE GIVE YOU REASSURANCES THAT YOU HAVE A PLACE OF REST IN THE NETHERWORLD
 p. 77 — FOR AGAINST YOUR WILL YOU ARE FORMED, AGAINST YOUR WILL YOU ARE BORN, AGAINST YOUR WILL YOU LIVE, AGAINST YOUR WILL YOU DIE, AND AGAINST YOUR WILL YOU WILL GIVE AN ACCOUNT BEFORE THE KING OVER THE KINGS OF KINGS, THE HOLY ONE, BLESSED BE HE.²⁸

²⁶ See PA 4:7-8, in the name of Ishmael, son of Jose, a scholar of the fourth generation.

²⁷ In PA 4:21 and 22 these next two paragraphs are in the name of Eliezer's father, Eleazar Hakkappar (see note 23 above). Eliezer is often called Eleazar of Bar Kappara (Bacher, II, pp. 503ff.).

²⁸ There are a few variations between PA 4:22 and B.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

Elisha ben Abuyah says :¹ He who studies Torah in his youth, to what may he be compared ? To plaster which is spread on stone. Even though all the rains fall, they do not harm it. He who studies Torah in his old age, to what may he be compared ? To plaster which is spread on bricks. When a drop of water falls on it, it dissolves and runs.²

A parable. To what may it be compared ? To a king who said to his servant : Guard this bird for my son. The king said to his servant : If you guard the bird, you will preserve your life. If you lose the bird, you will lose your life. The servant guarded that bird. The servant would say concerning what he was guarding (that) he was guarding his own life ; and concerning what he would lose he would say (that) he would be losing his own life. In this way the Holy One, blessed be He, says to Israel : My sons, if you keep the Torah, you keep your life. If you lose the Torah, you lose your life.

So everyone who preserves one thing from the Torah, preserves his life, and everyone who loses one thing from the Torah, loses his life, as Scripture says : "Only take heed and keep your soul diligently, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen, and lest they depart from your heart all the days of your life (Dt. 4:9)." ³

p. 78 Rabbi Reuben ben Astroboli⁴ says : A man is not suspected of

¹ Elisha ben Abuyah is the last of the four that went into the orchard. For his place here, see Ch. 33, n. 1. He is treated in Bacher, I, 430-434.

² For sayings with a similar point, see PA 4:20 and A Ch. 23 (pp. 77-78 ; G pp. 103-04). Finkelstein feels that ARNA preserves the original and sharpest version and that B and PA have softened it (*Mabo*, pp. 79-80). Version A has a large number of his sayings, but B has only preserved the PA saying and the following parable.

³ See a shorter version of this parable in A p. 78 (G p. 105). ARNA, in a saying previous to this parable, deals with forgetting Torah, the subject of the quote from Deuteronomy here in B. In both A and B the parable occurs under the name of Elisha ben Abuyah, something which Bacher accepts (I, p. 434). In *SifreDt* 48 (Finkelstein, p. 108) and *Men* 99b the parable is in the name of Ishmael or the School of Ishmael. *Yalkut*, I, §878 has Rabbi Simeon. Cf. the Gospel according to Matthew 5:18.

⁴ Ms. R reads *'rkylys* ; Ms. P has *'rbwlys*, an easy corruption of Ms. R's Archilos (*Archilos*) which was a common Hellenistic name. Other sources name Reuben the son of Aristobulos or Strobilus (Bacher, II, p. 383 ; Strack, p. 116 and p. 314, n. 45 ; Meila 17a ; *MoedKat* 18b.) Version A (p. 63 ; G p. 85) quotes Reuben as son of Astroboli and Schechter follows this in emending the text. Aristobulos was also a common Hellenistic name.

something unless he has done it (before) or done something like it or unless he planned to do it or heard from a friend that it was done and showed interest in it.⁵

- p. 79 He used to say : Three kinds of people are (extraordinarily) trustworthy : a poor man who is trustworthy with a deposit-no one is more trustworthy than this ; a property owner who is trustworthy in regard to his tithes-no one is more trustworthy than this ; a bachelor who grew up in a city and is not suspected of unchastity-no one is more trustworthy than this.⁶

He used to say : Honor your father and mother for except for them you would not have come into the world because they brought you (into the world). And consider carefully what you do to them for they care for you.

- Haniniah ben Hakilai⁷ says : If one wakes from his sleep in the night and turns his mind from idle matters to the words of Torah, it is a good sign for him, as Scripture says : "When you walk it will lead you (Prov. 6:22)." In this world. "When you lie down, it will watch over you." In the hour of death. "And when you awake, it will talk with you." In the world to come.⁸
- p. 80

RABBI ELIEZER BEN JACOB⁹ SAYS : HE WHO CARRIES OUT ONE GOOD

⁵ This sentence has a halakic ring to it, but it seems to be more of an exhortation than a strict law. Rab transmits a very similar sentence in Reuben's name in Moed Katan 18b.

⁶ Reuben here transmits traditions concerned with Palestine. S. Klein ("Eine Tannaim-familie in Rom" *Jeschurun*, ed. J. Wohlgemuth, 3 [1916], 442-45) has collected all the texts concerning Reuben and his father and makes a possible case for the family residing in Rome. Even if this is so, Reuben was a recognized teacher.

See a similar saying in Pes 113a where God praises the people who have the qualities listed here. This saying is a good key to some of the common failings of people.

⁷ No sage named Haniniah ben Hakilai is quoted elsewhere. Haniniah seems to be a cross between Hananiah and Hanina (two names which are related to one another). In Ch. 34 (at note 10) we have a very similar saying of Hananiah ben Hakinai, also found in PA 3:4. It seems that his name has been changed here from the form usually found in other sources either through confusion or though the repeating of a similar version of the saying. See Bacher, I, p. 435, n. 7. Schechter sees this saying and that found in Ch. 34 as coming from two separate sources. But this may just be a positive restatement of the original negatively formulated statement in Ch. 34.

⁸ For this interpretation of Prov. 6:22 see Jose ben Kisma in PA 6:9. This verse is also used in Ch. 34 with Hananiah ben Hakinai's saying, referred to in the previous note.

⁹ This is probably the Eliezer ben Jacob of the third generation and a disciple of Akiba, not that of the first generation (Bacher, II, pp. 283-91). See PA 4:11a for the same saying.

DEED ACQUIRES ONE ADVOCATE¹⁰ IN HIS OWN BEHALF, AND HE WHO COMMITS ONE TRANSGRESSION ACQUIRES ONE ACCUSER AGAINST HIMSELF. REPENTANCE AND GOOD WORKS ARE LIKE A SHIELD AGAINST CALAMITY.

p. 81 Rabbi Jose the Babylonian¹¹ says : Scholars do not die young because they are suspected of robbery or unchastity but because they break off their study and speak of their own concerns during their study.

Rabbi Jacob says : If a man sees a snake and a scorpion, he was destined to die by them, except for the abounding mercies of God. Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel said : When is that the case ? Only when he did not kill them. But if¹² he killed them, they were not seen by him except that he should kill them.¹³ But the sages say : In either case it is the same.¹⁴

p. 82 RABBI JONATHAN BEN RABBI JOSE SAYS :¹⁵ He who studies Torah

¹⁰ "Advocate" is *snygur* from the Greek *sunēgōr*, meaning (defense) attorney and is the opposite of *qtygur* from the Greek *katēgōr*, meaning accuser, prosecutor, a term which occurs in the next clause. See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, pp. 403-04 and 496. PA 4:11 has *prqlyt* from the Greek *paraklētos*, meaning advocate, intercessor, instead of *snygur*. Krauss (p. 496) does not characterize it as a legal term; *snygur* and *qtygur* are the usual legal opposites. Arndt-Gingrich (*Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 623) also note that the legal meaning of *paraklētos* is rare. Liddell-Scott-Jones (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1313a) quote only one example.

¹¹ Jose the Babylonian is not elsewhere cited. But a Joseph the Babylonian does occur in the baraita. See Bacher, II, p. 276; Hyman, *Toledot*, p. 754. A very similar saying occurs in Akiba's name in A, p. 82 (G p. 112). In A p. 88 (G p. 122) Isi ben Judah asks the same question but gives the answer that they die young because they despise themselves. Isi, Jose and Joseph are all basically the same name. For another example of Jose and Joseph exchanging, see Ch. 11, n. 2.

¹² For this text see Ms. P (Schechter, p. 172) and also the parallel in JerShab 14:1 (14b and c).

¹³ JerShab 14:1 (14b and c) contains the argument found in B. Rabbi Jacob holds that if one meets snakes and scorpions at a distance of four cubits (six feet), he was destined to die by them. Rabbi Simeon says that this is only true if one escapes them without killing them. If a man does kill them, then he was destined to and there was no miracle. See also Shab 121b.

Rabbi Jacob was a contemporary of Rabbi and a grandson of Elisha ben Abuyah (Strack, p. 116).

¹⁴ The saying of the sages seems to be a folk saying, like that in Ch. 33 (p. 72), n. 16. Literally it is "Between thus and between thus." JerShab 14:1 (14c) has "In either case they were seen by him because of (his) merit [*lzkut*]." The sages here hold that whether one escapes or kills the snake and scorpion, it is a sign of God's favor.

¹⁵ Jonathan ben Joseph (here : Jose) was a pupil of Ishmael and is often mentioned, with Josiah, in the Mechilta and Sifre. In A p. 89 (G p. 123) the saying below is in the

in a time of distress will in the end observe it in a time of ease. He who neglects Torah in a time of ease will in the end neglect it in a time of distress.¹⁶ HE WHO STUDIES TORAH IN POVERTY WILL IN THE END FULFILL IT IN RICHES. HE WHO NEGLECTS TORAH IN RICHES WILL IN THE END NEGLECT IT IN POVERTY.¹⁷ He who studies Torah for his own needs will in the end forget it. He who forgets his study in his youth will seek it in his old age,¹⁸ as Scripture says : "And at the end of your life you groan, when your flesh and body are consumed, and you say, 'How I hated discipline, and my heart despised reproof! I did not listen to the voice of my teachers or incline my ear to my instructors. I was at the point of utter ruin in the assembled congregation". And so Scripture says : "Drink water from your own cistern.... (Prov. 5:11-15)."

p. 83

p. 84 Rabbi Johanan ben Nuri¹⁹ says : THE LAW OF MENSTRUATION AND THE LAWS OF (MIXED) BIRD OFFERINGS—THESE, THESE ARE THE ESSENTIALS OF THE HALAKAH.

RABBI ELEAZAR BEN HISMA SAYS : EQUINOXES AND GEMATRIA ARE THE DESSERTS OF WISDOM.

Rabbi Jose says : Let all that is yours be greater than you are;

name of Nathan ben Joseph. Nathan is a shortening of Jonathan (Bacher, II, p. 354, n. 2). PA 4:9 has Jonathan (or Johanan; see Taylor, *Sayings*, I, pp. 83 and (26); II, p. 157). For the problem of Rabbi Jonathan and Rabbi Jonathan ben Joseph, see Bacher, II, p. 364, n. 1.

¹⁶ These first two sentences match the following saying from PA 4:9 in pattern and meaning. "In a time of ease" translates the Hebrew *mrywh*. I read it as a pual : *m^era^wwāh*.

¹⁷ See PA 4:9 and A p. 89 (G p. 123) for this saying.

¹⁸ Sayings concerning the relative merits of studying Torah when young and old can be found at the beginning and end of this chapter and in ARNA, Chs. 23 and 24. This saying is probably linked to the previous saying by the common word "forget". The verse here, Prov. 5:15, is used to prove you should keep studying in A p. 16 (G p. 28).

¹⁹ The two sayings in the names of Johanan ben Nuri and Eleazar ben Hisma occur as one in the name of Eleazar ben Hisma both in PA 3:18 and in A Ch. 27 (p. 84; G p. 114). In A, however, Eleazar's saying is immediately followed by one of Johanan ben Nuri which repeats much of what Eleazar has already said. It seems that the same remarks were transmitted in both their names. They were contemporaries and both supervisors in Rabban Gamaliel's school (Strack, p. 114).

For the distinction between halaka and additional dialectics and puzzles which may have come from Greek influences, see S. Lieberman, "How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?", in Alexander Altmann (ed.), *Biblical and Other Studies* (Harvard UP, 1963), pp. 131-32.

do not study in a mediocre manner ; it (Torah) is a source of greatness to those who seek it.²⁰

RABBI TARFON²¹ SAYS : THE DAY IS SHORT, THE WORK IS PLENTIFUL, THE LABORERS ARE SLUGGISH, AND THE REWARD IS ABUNDANT, AND THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE PRESSES. IT IS NOT YOUR DUTY TO FINISH THE WORK, BUT YOU ARE NOT AT LIBERTY TO BE IDLE. IF YOU HAVE STUDIED MUCH TORAH, YOU SHALL BE GIVEN MUCH REWARD. FAITHFUL IS YOUR TASKMASTER TO PAY YOU THE REWARD OF YOUR LABOR.

p. 85 Rabbi Akiba says : Stay away from three things and become attached to three things. Stay away from annulments of marriage, from (holding) a deposit, and from being guarantor²² between one man and his friend. Become involved in Halitza,²³ in nullifying of vows, and in bringing peace between a man and his friend.²⁴

Concerning terrifying men, violent men, insolent men and men who resort to force Scripture says : "For the arms of the wicked shall be broken. ... Ps. 37:17)."²⁵

p. 86 Concerning men who commit unchastity, men who pervert things, men who defraud and men who calumniate,²⁶ Scripture says : "Let

²⁰ I translate this saying literally. Its exact meaning is not clear in context. If its subject is Torah in all parts, then a man is urged to admit Torah is greater than he is and get his own greatness from Torah by study. See PA 6:4 for similar materials. The first phrase could also be translated "Let all that is yours be too much for you." The second clause reads in Hebrew : *mḥsh lhsh* and could have the sense of half studying many subjects and becoming the master of none.

²¹ Rabbi Tarfon was a contemporary of Akiba. This saying occurs in PA 2:15-16. See the Gospel according to Matthew, 9:37; Luke 10:2; and John 4:35-38.

ARNA Ch. 27 (p. 84; G pp. 114-15) exhibits the following order :

R. Ishmael saying PA 4:5

R. Ishmael saying PA 2:16 (in Tarfon's name here and in PA)

R. Eleazar ben Hisma saying PA 3:18

Two other sayings

R. Tarfon saying a shortened version of PA 2:15-16.

²² Ms. R has "making peace" but this is an error based on the following sentence which has this phrase.

²³ If a man died childless, his brother was required to marry the widow. If he refused, the widow had the right to pull off his sandal (halitza) and spit in his face (Dt. 25:5-11).

²⁴ See Yeb 109b where the same six things are given under Bar Kappara's name with a reason for each. See BerRab 93:1 (T-A, p. 1150) where Rabbi Hanina makes the statement.

²⁵ "Men who resort to force" is the Hebrew *b'ly zrw'* and "arms" in the verse from Isaiah is the Hebrew *zrw'wt*.

²⁶ In this and the following paragraphs, these types of men seem to form one category

their way be dark and slippery with the angel of the Lord pursuing them (Ps. 35:6)!"

Those who insult in secret and blaspheme in public, those who sneer in public and those who quarrel will suffer the same fate as Korah and his congregation, as Scripture says: "And the earth closed over them.... (Num. 16:33)."

Concerning those who drive up prices, use short weights, collect usurious interest and hoard produce to make a profit in the land of Israel²⁷ Scripture says: "The Lord has sworn by the pride of Jacob: 'Surely I will never forget any of their deeds' (Amos 8:7)."

- p. 87 Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob says: You should be engaged in two possessions: One in Torah and one in a worldly occupation. Anyone who does not have one in Scriptures, in Mishnah and in a worldly occupation is not from the civilized world.²⁸

RABBI ELIEZER OF MODAIM²⁹ SAYS: EVERYONE WHO PROFANES THE TORAH, THE HOLY THINGS AND THE FESTIVALS AND ANNULS THE COVENANT OF ABRAHAM OUR FATHER—EVEN THOUGH HE HAS GOOD WORKS, HAS NO SHARE IN THE WORLD TO COME. EVERYONE WHO DESPISES THE TORAH, THE HOLY THINGS AND THE FESTIVALS AND ANNULS THE COVENANT OF ABRAHAM OUR FATHER—EVEN THOUGH HE HAS GOOD WORKS, HAS NO SHARE IN THE WORLD TO COME.

- p. 88 Rabbi Judah says: He who studies Torah in his youth, to what may he be likened? To a bachelor who married a bachelor.³⁰

Rabbi Jose says: He who studies Torah in his youth, to what may

- p. 89 he be likened? To ink written on new paper; and he who studies Torah

in each respective paragraph. For four similar categories, see SedEIRab Ch. 15 (ed. Friedmann, p. 77). "Men who commit unchastity" translates *ḥwršy r'*.

²⁷ The dishonest practices listed here were those that merchants would do, especially during hard times which were common in the early centuries of our era. See a similar passage with these four dishonest practices and the verse from Amos in BabBat 90b.

²⁸ Eliezer ben Jacob occurs earlier in this chapter. Note that Torah is first mentioned and then broken down into written Torah (*mktb*) and oral Torah (*mšnh*).

²⁹ This saying occurs in PA 3:11 and A p. 82 (G p. 112) with minor variations and without the repetition at the end. PA has it in the name of Eleazar of Modaim.

³⁰ Ms. R reads *rwvḥ*, "open space". Ms. P (Schechter, p. 172) reads *rwvq*, "bachelor". In neither case is the meaning clear. Schechter concurs in this opinion and makes a suggestion that the text might read unmarried woman (*rwvqh*) instead of bachelor in its second occurrence.

The theme of these last three paragraphs is the same as that of the first paragraph and of A Ch. 23: the advantages of studying in one's youth.

in his old age, to what may he be likened? To ink written on erased paper.³¹

Rabbi Judah says : He who studies Torah in his old age, to what may he be likened? To one who takes a storage jar to put wine in it and because it is not sealed with pitch, it decays all the time it rests p. 90 in it;³² and he who studies Torah in his youth, to what may he be likened? To one who takes a storage jar to put wine in it and because it is sealed with pitch, all the time that the wine is in it, it improves.

³¹ This saying occurs in a similar form in PA 4:20 under the name of Elisha ben Abuyah and in A p. 76 (G p. 102) under the name of Eliezer ben Jacob. The saying was probably a very popular one and repeated by many sages. Or it may have originally been Elisha's statement and attributed to others after he turned apostate.

³² I read *ššhh* with Schechter in n. 20.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

BY TEN UTTERANCES WAS THE WORLD CREATED.¹ AND WHAT DOES THIS TEACH? SURELY IT COULD HAVE BEEN CREATED BY ONE UTTERANCE! BUT THIS WAS SO THAT THE WICKED BE PUNISHED, FOR THEY DESTROY THE WORLD.² BY TEN UTTERANCES WAS THE WORLD CREATED, and they are: "And God said: 'Let there be light' (Gen. 1:2)." "And God said: 'Let there be a firmament' (1:6)." "And God said: 'Let the waters be gathered together' (1:9)." "And God said: 'Let the earth put forth vegetation' (1:11)." "And God said: 'Let there be lights' (1:14)." "And God said: 'Let the waters swarm' (1:20)." "And God said: 'Let the earth bring forth' (1:24)." "And God said: 'Behold I have given' (1:29)." "And God said: 'Let us make man' (1:26)." "And God said: 'It is not good that the man should be alone' (Gen. 2:18)." Rabbi Jeremiah³ used to include: "So God created the great sea monsters.... (Gen. 1:21)" and exclude the verse: "It is not good that man should be alone (Gen. 2:18)."⁴

¹ Chapters 36-48 of ARNB are a commentary on PA Ch. 5 and contain a variety of numbered lists of things and passages. Chapter 5 of PA has been long recognized as different from the preceding chapters. Finkelstein holds that the collection is probably early (from the time of Akiba,) though it cannot be dated with precision. See JBL 57 (1938), p. 24. In his *Mabo*, pp. 81ff, he implies that PA 5 and its commentary in ARNB are very early, at least in parts (see pp. 100 and 110). On the other hand, additions were made to it even after it had been written down.

PA Ch. 5 and its commentary are clearly important and fascinating for the compilers of ARNB, for they take up approximately one third of ARNB.

² PA 5:1 has a slightly longer version of the saying in which it notes that the ten utterances were also spoken so that the just can be rewarded. Version A, Ch. 31 (p. 90; G p. 125) has only 'By ten utterances was the world created,' without a Scriptural verse. God could have created the world with one word but the ten utterances emphasize the guilt of those who mar His work and the merit of those who preserve it (Taylor, *Sayings*, I, on 5:1 and Yalkut, I, 1). For a detailed attempt to get at the original version of this mishnah, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 84-87.

³ Rabbi Jeremiah was a Palestinian Amora of the fourth generation (fourth century). See Strack, p. 128. Only two other Amoraim are quoted in ARNB: Abba in Ch. 15 (p. 52) and R. Jannai in Ch. 33 (p. 73).

⁴ These acts of creation are called utterances because most of them begin with *wy'mr* ("And He said").

PRE Ch. 13 and PesRab 21:19 (Friedmann, 108a and b; Braude, pp. 444-45) quote the same verses as ARNB. BerRab 17:1 (T-A, p. 151) quotes Gen. 1:1 and 2 as implicitly creation utterances concerned with heaven and earth and with the spirit. Then it quotes

Now then, what is the purpose of this for⁵ all the inhabitants of the world? This is to teach you that if anyone destroys one life from Israel, it is as though he destroyed a whole world, but everyone who sustains one life from Israel is accounted by Scripture as though he had sustained a whole world.⁶

p. 92 TEN GENERATIONS FROM ADAM TO NOAH—TO MAKE KNOWN WHAT LONG-SUFFERING WAS HIS. FOR ALL THE GENERATIONS DETERIORATED IN THEIR ACTIONS UNTIL GOD BROUGHT THE WATERS OF THE FLOOD UPON THEM.

p. 93 TEN GENERATIONS FROM NOAH TO ABRAHAM. WHAT DOES THIS TEACH? IT TEACHES THAT TEN GENERATIONS WERE DETERIORATING IN THEIR ACTIONS UNTIL ABRAHAM OUR FATHER ROSE, WALKED IN GOD'S WAYS AND RECEIVED THE REWARD OF ALL OF THEM.⁷

p. 94 WITH TEN TRIALS WAS ABRAHAM OUR FATHER TRIED AND HE WITHSTOOD THEM ALL—TO MAKE KNOWN THE GREATNESS OF ABRAHAM OUR FATHER.⁸

And they are :⁹

In Ur of the Chaldees : "Go from your country and your kindred. ... (Gen. 11:31 and 12:1);"

In leaving Haran (Gen. 12:4);

"Now there was a famine in the land. ... (Gen. 12:10);"¹⁰

Gen. 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, Added to this is an opinion of Menahem bar Jose which excludes Gen. 1:2 and adds 2:18. See *Legends*, V, p. 63, n. 1. RH 32a and Yalkut, I, beginning, both state that there are nine utterances beginning with *wy'mr* and then Gen. 1:1.

⁵ *šybw'w lk'n* both here and on p. 94 means literally : "That they should come to here." It may mean : "that they should understand" or "be told" or "be shown this". Or perhaps : "that (these utterances) should come thus."

⁶ This paragraph relates unclearly to what went before. The general idea seems to be that everything was created by God's utterance and though one would have sufficed, He went to the trouble of uttering ten.

In A Ch. 31 (pp. 90-92; G pp. 125-28) this line of argument is developed at length and proof is offered that one life is equal to all creation. See also Sanh 4:5 Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 86) thinks that "from Israel" is secondary and that this originally referred to all mankind. See also *Legends*, V, p. 67, n. 8

⁷ See PA 5:2 for the last two paragraphs. These two parts of PA 5:2 each receive a chapter of commentary in Version A, Chs. 32-33. For the deterioration of man and nature, see SifreDt 306 (Finkelstein, pp. 328-30).

⁸ See PA 5:3. PRE Chs. 26-31 has a similar list of ten explained at length."

⁹ A pp. 94-95 (G p. 132) has the ten more concisely and without verses. Only nine trials are here. The lists of ten differ in the sources and this one probably got confused. See Schechter, n. 5.

¹⁰ This verse refers to the leaving of Canaan and to the famine which they suffered.

Two in connection with Sarah : one with Pharaoh and one with Abimelech (Gen. 12:11ff; Gen. 20);

One in connection with circumcision (Gen. 17:9);

One in connection with the covenant of the halves (Gen. 15);

One in connection with Isaac (Gen. 22);

One in connection with Ishmael (Gen. 21:8).

Now then, what is the purpose of¹¹ this for all the inhabitants of the world? This is to teach you that when Abraham our Father, may he rest in peace, comes to receive his reward, the inhabitants of the world will say : More worthy than (all who are) here is Abraham to receive (his reward).¹²

TEN MIRACLES WERE WROUGHT FOR OUR ANCESTORS IN EGYPT AND TEN AT THE SEA.¹³ To make known His love for Israel.

TEN PLAGUES THE HOLY ONE BLESSED BE HE VISITED ON THE EGYPTIANS IN EGYPT, AND TEN AT THE SEA.¹⁴ To make known God's power. These are the ones with which they were smitten in Egypt : *dšk 'dš b'hb* [blood, frogs, vermin, gnats, plague, boils, hail, locusts, darkness, and the (death of) the first born].¹⁵ These are the ones with which they were smitten at the sea : *rym šbt tšw*.¹⁶ *rym* : He has thrown (*rmh*); He has cast (*yrh*); the chariots (*mrkbt*). *šbt* : his picked officers (*šlšyw*); in the sea (*bym*); are sunk (*tb'w*). *tšw* : You overthrow (*thrs*) your adversaries; You send forth (*tšlh*) your fury; they sank (*šllw*) like lead, at the blast (*wbrwḥ*) of your nostrils the waters piled up.¹⁷

¹¹ See note 5 above.

¹² See A p. 95 (G p. 132) for this thought.

¹³ See PA 5:4a and A p. 95 (G pp. 132-33) for mention of the ten miracles at the sea. PA has and A lacks the ten miracles in Egypt.

¹⁴ See PA 5:4a and a slightly different version in A p. 95 (G pp. 132-33), but in the same relative place in A and B. A then adds a number of midrashim not in B.

¹⁵ These plagues are listed by the Hebrew memnonic *dšk 'dš b'hb*. See the statement of them by Rabbi Judah in the Passover Haggadah at the end of the Midrash there. I add the names of the plagues in full.

¹⁶ This is a memnonic, similar to the one in the previous note.

¹⁷ See Ex. 15:1, 4, 7, 10, 8 for these ten phrases.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

FIVE elders wrote out the Torah in Greek for Ptolemy the king.¹ TEN things they changed in it.² They are : God created in the beginning (Gen. 1:1).³ I will make man into an image and likeness (Gen. 1:26).⁴ A male with corresponding female genitals he created him (Gen. 1:27).⁵

¹ Only this text states that five elders wrote out the Torah in Greek for Ptolemy, Other texts (Letter to Aristeeas §46-50; Meg 9a; Soferim 1:8) give 72 as the number of elders who produced the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Scriptures. The number five is odd in this context, since we are dealing with groups of ten; a group of ten changes follows.

² Ten changes are announced here in B to match the groups of ten which predominate in this section. However, eleven changes are actually listed. JerMeg 1:9 (71d) and Soferim 1:8 say that there were 13 changes made in the Septuagint and they list them. Mech to 12:40 (Lauterbach, pp. 111-12) does not give the number of changes but lists the same 13 passages as JerMeg and Soferim. Tan, *Shem*, 22 says that ten changes were made, but then gives twelve passages. ExRab 5:5 says that 18 changes were made, but does not list them. Meg 9a and b does not give a number, but does list 15 changes. The passages found in other sources but not found in B are Gen. 2:2; Ex. 24:5; Ex. 24:11; and Dt. 17:3.

These changes are not found in our editions of the Septuagint translation. The Rabbis suggest these changes because each of the texts might have been misunderstood by a non-Jew. The making of these changes seems to be presented in a favorable light here, even though the Rabbis took great care with the Hebrew Biblical text. See Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 300-03 and Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 439-47. Geiger (p. 441) says that the version of the list found in Mechilta is original. He also tries to explain the genesis of some of the changes through comparison of different versions of the Bible.

³ The Hebrew text, according to the midrash, could be understood "Bereshit (the beginning) created gods ('*lhym*, a plural)." Consequently, the order of the Hebrew words was changed so that God comes first.

⁴ "Our image and likeness" could suggest more than one God, so "our" is dropped.

⁵ The text of ARNB is unclear here. Ms. R has *wngwby*. All other Mss. have *wngwbyw*. Mss. P and R have *br'w*. Mss. N and H have *br'm*. The other versions differ in their changes and also on whether they are commenting on Gen. 1:27 or 5:2. Mech. and Soferim have almost the same form as Ms. R : *nqwbyw br'w*. BerRab 8:11 (T-A, p. 64) and JerMeg read the same as Schechter's emendation : *nqwbyw br'm*. Meg and Tanhuma read *nqbh br'w*. This change in the text of the Bible expresses agreement with the Hellenistic notion adapted by some of the rabbis that Adam was originally one androgynous being. See Ch. 8 (p. 23) and note 16. I have adopted the text of Mss. R and P, reading *nqwbyw*, which then corresponds to the Mechilta.

Come, I will go down and there confuse their language (Gen. 11:7).⁶ So Sarah laughed among her relatives, saying. ... (Gen. 18:12).⁷ For in their anger they slay oxen and in their wantonness they overturn stables (Gen. 49:6).⁸ So Moses took his wife and his sons and set them on a carrier of men. ... (Ex. 4:20).⁹ The time that the people of Israel dwelt in Egypt and in the land of Canaan and in the land of Goshen was four hundred and thirty years (Ex. 12:40).¹⁰ I have not taken one precious gift from them (Num. 16:15).¹¹ And the slender of foot.... (Lev. 11:6).¹² Which the Lord your God has allotted to illuminate with them all the peoples under the whole heaven (Dt. 4:19).¹³

⁶ "Let us" is changed to "I". The other versions have *'rhd* with Ms. R rather than Schechter's emendation to *'rd*. Ms. N has *'rd*. Mss. P and H have *nrd*.

⁷ The Hebrew text's *begirbah* ("to herself" or "privately") is changed to *bqrwbyh* ("among her relatives"). See BerRab 48:17 (T-A, p. 494) and the notes there. Rashi on Meg 9a says that the change explains why Sarah angered God and Abraham did not, even though he also laughed (Gen. 17:17).

⁸ Instead of having Simeon and Levi kill men and hamstring (*'grw*) oxen, they kill oxen and overturn (*'grw*) stables. The founders of two of the tribes should not be portrayed as bloodthirsty. BerRab 98:5 (T-A, p. 1256) refers only to the overturning of stables. This, according to Geiger, pp. 442-44, was the original change made, since *šōr* is ox and *šūr* is wall. Then *šōr* (ox) was put into the first half of the verse instead of "man".

⁹ "Carrier of men" is used instead of "ass". In the Semitic world, riding an ass was common to everyone, royal or poor (Jos. 15:18; Jug. 19:3; 1 Sam. 25:20; 2 Sam. 16:1; 17:23; 19:27; 1 Ki. 13:13). In the Graeco-Roman world the horse (and chariot) was the prestige animal and the ass a mere unworthy beast of burden. So, ass is changed to the more general "carrier of men" which could include many animals including the horse. See also ExRab 5:5.

¹⁰ Israel can have dwelt in Egypt 430 years only if we include some of the time spent in Canaan and count from Abraham's covenant (Gen. 15:10-18) or from Isaac's birth 30 years later. See Seder Olam Rabbah Ch. 2 for much of the dating of period; also Mech to 12:40 (Lauterbach, p. 111); MechRS to 12:40; JerTarg 12:40.

¹¹ Mention of the ass (*hmrw*) is again avoided by reading *hmd* (previous gift). See note 9 above. An ass would not be an appropriate offering for Korah to have given Moses.

¹² The Hebrew verse begins *w't h'rnbt* ("hare"), which occurs only in Lev. 11:6 and in Dt. 14:7. The father of Ptolemy I Soter was named *Lagos*, the Greek word for hare. Since the stricture against eating hare might be interpreted as an insult, a euphemism was used: "slender of foot". JerMeg says that the mother of Ptolemy (presumably the one who commissioned the translation of the Septuagint) was named "hare". Tanhuma and Meg say that she was Ptolemy's wife. The form of the name given is *'rnbt* in JerMeg and *'rnb* in Meg and Tanhuma.

¹³ Dt. 4:19: "which the Lord your God has allotted to them" might be interpreted to mean that God gave the sun, moon and stars to the nations to worship, so this verse is changed to the version here.

p. 95 TEN things were originally planned : Jerusalem, the spirits of the fathers, the light of the just, Gehenna, the waters of the flood, the two tables of the commandments, the Sabbath, the Temple, the Ark, and the light of the world to come.¹⁴

TEN THINGS WERE CREATED AT TWILIGHT :¹⁵ THE RAINBOW, THE COMETS,¹⁶ THE CLOUDS,¹⁷ THE WELL,¹⁸ THE MANNA, THE ROD,¹⁹ THE MOUTH OF THE EARTH,²⁰ THE ASS'S POWER OF SPEECH,²¹ THE STAFF OF AARON,²² AND THE CAVE.²³ AND SOME SAY : ALSO THE BURIAL PLACE OF MOSES OUR MASTER AND THE RAM OF ABRAHAM OUR FATHER. RABBI NATHAN SAYS : THE WRITING, THE STYLUS AND THE TABLES OF THE COMMANDMENTS. RABBI JOSHUA SAYS : ALSO CLOTHES OF SKIN²⁴ AND THE SHAMIR.²⁵ RABBI NEHAMIAH SAYS : ALSO FIRE AND THE MULE.²⁶

By TEN names was prophecy called :²⁷ burden (*mš'*), parable (*mšl*),

¹⁴ This list occurs only here and in PRE 3, with one change (see Schechter, n. 2). This list resembles the following one which occurs in several forms and in many sources.

¹⁵ See Appendix 2 for a study of all the parallel versions of this list and comments on their relationship.

¹⁶ *zyqym* are shooting stars or sparks. Other versions have *mzyqym*, meaning demons or malevolent spirits.

¹⁷ Probably the pillar of the cloud which led Israel in the desert (Ex. 13:21).

¹⁸ The rabbis spoke of a well which moved about in the desert with Israel (*Legends*, III, pp. 52-53 and the notes referred to; there is confusion about when the well was created).

¹⁹ The Rod of Moses which became a snake when he threw it down before Pharaoh (Ex. 1:9-10).

²⁰ The mouth of the earth opened up to swallow Korah and his group (Num. 16:30-32).

²¹ Balaam's ass spoke to him (Num. 22:28).

²² Aaron's staff blossomed (Num. 17:16-26).

²³ The cave of Moses and Elijah, according to parallel versions. In this same cave Moses and Elijah had God revealed to them (Ex. 33:18-23; 1 Ki. 19:9; *Legends*: II, p. 137).

²⁴ See Gen. 3:21 and *Legends*, V, p. 104 (top) and p. 109, n. 99.

²⁵ The Shamir was a mysterious worm which cut the stones for the Temple and enabled the builders to avoid the use of iron instruments. See *Legends*, I, p. 34. In BH the word means thorn. Tannaitic sources imply, but never say, that it is a worm. Rashi to Pes 54a and Rambam to PA 5:6.

²⁶ The mule is not a natural species and so was thought to be a special object of creation.

²⁷ See A p. 102 (G p. 142) where a similar list is given as the names for the Holy Spirit instead of for prophecy. (They seem to be the same thing.) A has *tp'rt* ("glory") which is lacking in B and B has *htyph* ("sermon") which is lacking in A. The order of terms is different in each. I follow the translation of terms used in Goldin's translation of ARNA. See Ch. 34, nn. 74-83 there for texts supporting each of these terms. BerRab 44:6 (T-A, p. 429) and SongRab 3:4 have the same names as Version B, but in a different order.

metaphor (*mlysh*), riddle (*hydh*), sermon (*htyph*),²⁸ command (*šwvy*), speech (*dybwr*), saying (*'myrh*), vision (*hzwv*), prophecy (*nby'h*).

By TEN names were prophets called :²⁹ servant (*'bd*), angel (*ml'k*), messenger (*šlyh*), watchman (*šwph*), visionary (*hwzh*), dreamer (*hwlm*), ambassador (*šyr*), seer (*rw'h*), prophet (*nby'*), man of God (*'yš h'lhym*).

TEN were called man of God : Moses, Elkanah, Samuel, David, Iddo, Shemaiah, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Amoz.³⁰

- p. 96 Moses was called a man of God, as Scripture says : "This is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel. ... (Dt. 33:1)."

Elkanah was called a man of God, as Scripture says : "And there came a man of God to Eli. ... (1 Sam 2:27)."³¹

Samuel was called a man of God, as Scripture says : "Behold there is a man of God in this city. ... (1 Sam. 9:6)."

David, as Scripture says : "According to the commandment of David, the man of God. ... (Neh. 12:24)."

Iddo was called a man of God, as Scripture says : "And behold, a man of God came out of Judah. ... (1 Ki. 13:1)."³²

Shemaiah, as Scripture says : "But the word of God came to Shemaiah the man of God. ... (1 Ki. 12:24)."

Elijah, as Scripture says : "O man of God, I pray you, let my life be precious in your sight (2 Ki. 1:13)."

²⁸ Jastrow lists the word *haṭṭaph* (p. 343), which is a "flow of speech".

²⁹ See A p. 102 (G p. 142), just before the ten names for the Holy Spirit, where a similar list is given. In the list A has "trusted" (*n'mn*) as one of the items and B has "prophet" (*nby'*), the name used in the introductory phrase. I follow the translation of terms in Goldin's translation of ARNA. See Ch. 34, nn. 63-72 there for the texts supporting each of these terms.

³⁰ This list and its verses, with Iddo and Shemaiah's names reversed, occurs in SifreDt 342 (Finkelstein, p. 393) and MidTann, p. 208. Sed01Rab 20 (Ratner, p. 88) lists just the names in the order found in Sifre. Jeremiah is also called a man of God (Jer. 35:4) but not included in the list.

³¹ 1 Sam. 2:27 does not mention that the man of God's name was Elkanah, the father of Samuel (1 Sam. 1:2-3). Elkanah does go up to Shiloh where Eli's two sons are priests and in 1 Sam. 2:27 a man of God comes to Eli to tell him that his house will be destroyed because of the evil actions of his sons. Perhaps the conjunction of these two texts is in the homilist's mind. Or, less probably, Elkanah (*'l knh*) which means "God created" suggests "man of God". See *Legends*, VI, p. 222, n. 28.

³² 1 Kings does not name Iddo as the man of God who goes to Jeroboam in Israel. But in 1 Ch. 12:15 and 13:23 he is connected with the reign of Rehoboam in Judah, a contemporary of Jeroboam.

Elisha, as Scripture says : "Behold, now, I perceive that this is a holy man of God. ... (2 Ki. 4:9)."

Micaiah, as Scripture says : "And a man of God came near and said to the king of Israel. ... (1 Ki. 20:28)."

Amoz, as Scripture says : "But a man of God came to him [Amaziah of Judah] and said : 'O king, do not let the army of Israel go with you. ... (2 Ch. 25:7).'"³³ Daniel and Ezekiel were called son of man. Samuel and Hanani were called seer.³⁴

There are TEN descents in the Torah. There are TEN dotted passages in the Torah. There are TEN vigils in the Torah. There are TEN interruptions in the Torah.³⁵ There are TEN generations in the Torah.³⁶

There are TEN descents in the Torah.³⁷ A descent at the time of

³³ This must be not Amos ('*mws*) the prophet but Amoz ('*wms*). The Talmud identifies him as the brother of Amaziah and as the father of Isaiah, as given in Is. 1:1 (Meg 10b and Sot 10b). All Mss. read '*mws*.'

³⁴ See also Sed01Rab 20 (Ratner, p. 88) for these last two comments.

³⁵ Neither the vigils nor the "interruptions" are listed or identified nor am I sure what they are.

³⁶ The rest of the chapter is devoted to commenting on the ten descents, the ten dotted passages and the ten generations. The ten vigils and the interruptions are not treated.

³⁷ See A Ch. 34 (p. 102; G pp. 140-141) where the descents are specified as those of the Shekinah to the world. After the descents, ten ascents by which the Shekinah withdrew from one place to another are listed in Version A. It also has a more clear explanation of what is dotted and why.

Actually Version A only lists nine descents and Version B lists eleven. The list, however, was part of a group of tens and so retains its introductory phrase and its place, even though the items on the list have been confused or lost. They are as follows :

ARNB

Adam : Gen. 3:8, plus proof
Flood : Gen. 6:5, plus proof
Babel : Gen. 11:5
Sodom : Gen. 18:21
Egypt : Ex. 3:8
Sea : Ex. 15:2
Sinai : Ex. 19:20
Cloud : Ex. 34:5
Elders : Num. 11:16-17
Cloud : Num. 12:15

Age to Come : Mic. 1:3

ARNA

Adam : Gen. 3:8
Babel : Gen. 11:5
Sodom : Gen. 18:21
Egypt : Ex. 3:8
Sea : 2 Sam. 22:10
Sinai : Ex. 19:20
Cloud : Num. 11:25

Temple : Ez. 44:2

Future : Zech. 14:4

Note that the last item in the list in B is introduced by a slightly different phrase and may have been added on. On the other hand, the cloud is mentioned twice and it may

Adam, as Scripture says : "And they heard the voice of the Lord God. ... (Gen. 3:8)." And further on Scripture says : "Moses spoke and God answered him with his voice (Ex. 19:19)." The meaning of the word "voice" can be inferred by analogy. Just as "voice" in the second passage denotes a descent, so too "voice" in the first passage denotes a descent.³⁸

Where is a descent at the time of the flood taught? Scripture says : "The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth. ... (Gen. 6:5)."³⁹ And further on Scripture says : "Because the outcry against Sodom and Gomorrah is great and their sin is very grave, I will go down to see. ... (Gen. 18:20-21)." The meaning of the word "to be great" can be inferred by analogy. Just as "to be great" in the second passage denotes a descent, so too "to be great" in the first passage denotes a descent.

Where is a descent at the time of the Tower of Babel taught? Scripture says : "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built (Gen. 11:5)."

Where is a descent at the time of Sodom taught? Scripture says : "I will go down to see. ... (Gen. 18:21)".

Where is a descent at the time of Egypt taught? Scripture says : "I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians. ... (Ex. 3:8)."

Where is a descent at the sea taught? Scripture says : "This is my God and I will praise him, my father's God and I will exalt him (Ex. 15:2)."⁴⁰

Where is a descent at Sinai taught? Scripture says : "And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai. ... (Ex. 19:20)."

p. 97 Where is a descent in a cloud taught? Scripture says : "And the Lord descended in the cloud. ... (Ex. 34:5)."

account for the eleven items. See a different and concise list of ten in PRE 14. BerRab 38:9 (T-A, p. 358) and SifreNum 93 (Horovitz, p. 94) say that there are ten descents but do not enumerate them.

³⁸ "Inferred by analogy" is in Hebrew *gezerah shawa*, a rule of interpretation by which a law which contains a certain term can be connected to another passage with the same term (Strack, p. 94; Lieberman, *Hellenism*, pp. 58-62). "Voice-descent" in Ex. 19:19 tells us that "voice" in Gen. 3:8 implies a descent, too. (The passage from Exodus occurs further on in the list.) Version A omits this proof. The proof hardly seems necessary since God's presence in the Garden in Gen. 3 seems obvious.

³⁹ This case of the descent of the Shekinah is not contained in Version A. The proof, similar to the one in the previous paragraph, provided for its inclusion in the list.

⁴⁰ Version A (p. 102) uses 2 Sam. 22:10 as a proof verse.

Where is a descent to the elders taught? Scripture says: "Gather for me seventy men of the elders of Israel ... and let them take their stand there with you. And I will come down and talk with you there. ... (Num. 11:16-17)."

Where is a descent in a cloud taught? Scripture says: "And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud. ... (Num. 12:5)."

And in addition to all of these, one in the age to come, referred to in prophetic literature,⁴¹ as Scripture says: "For behold, the Lord is coming forth out of his place, and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth (Mic. 1:3)."

There are TEN dotted passage in the Torah.⁴² "May the Lord judge between me and you (Gen. 16:5)." This passage is dotted to show that it means that she spoke to him only against Hagar.⁴³

"Where is Sarah your wife? (Gen. 18:9)" You might think that they did not know where she was. This passage is dotted to show that it means that they did know where she was, but sought to drive from Abraham our father's mind the thought that they were ministering angels so that they would not be the cause for neglect of the commandments.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Prophetic literature" translates the Hebrew *qblh*.

⁴² See A pp. 100-01 (G pp. 138-39) where the same ten passages are listed just before the descents of the Shekinah. The list also occurs in SifreNum 69 (Horovitz, pp. 64-65); NumRab 3:13; MidProv 26:24; Soferim 6:3 (Higger, p. 166); Midrash Haserot we-Yetivot (ed. Marmorstein), pp. 30ff.; Midrash Hamesh Asarah Nequdot She-ba-mikra (in Wertheimer, II, pp. 489-94). See Goldin's notes 37-53 in his translation, which generally apply here. See also Ludwig Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen* (Strassburg, 1891), pp. 6-34; C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 318-34; A Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 257-58. Lieberman, *Hellenism*, pp. 43-46.

The dots originally signified some doubt about the correct text. They were used in Greek and Roman texts to indicate spurious words and they might also indicate that the word's place should be changed (see Blau, Ginsburg and Lieberman). As interpreted in ARNB and its parallels, the dots signify some unusual exegesis or allusion. In ARNB the crucial words are dotted in the Mss. Just which words or letters carried the dots originally is a problem which recurs in each case, along with varying interpretations of the dots. See the notes below.

⁴³ "Between you" is dotted to indicate that it should be "between her". This involves a change from *bynyk* to *bynyh*. The result is that Sarah is not directly complaining of her husband, something that could be scandalous, but of Hagar. See Ginsburg, pp. 323-24 and Blau, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁴ "Where" *'yh* is dotted in the Mss. of ARNB and such a dotting is presumed in SifreNum. Other sources have "to him" (*'lyw*) (of "they said to him") dotted over the *'*, *y* and *w*. See Ginsburg, pp. 324-25 and Blau, pp. 19-22. Blau argues that B and Sifre are the original versions of this dotted passage. See also BabMez 87a.

The commandment not to be neglected seems to be hospitality.

"And he did not know when she lay down or when she arose (Gen. 19:33)." (You might think that) he perceived when she lay down but did not perceive when she arose. This passage is dotted to show that he did not perceive when she lay down, but did perceive when she arose. As for what occurred with the younger daughter, he was aware of what was taking place both when she lay down and when she arose.⁴⁵

"And [Esau] fell upon his neck and kissed him (Gen. 33:4)." It is dotted because you might think that it was a sincere kiss. Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar says: Is it not true that all Esau's deeds from the beginning were based on hate, except this one which was based on love?⁴⁶

"Now his brothers went to pasture⁴⁷ their father's flock near Shechem (Gen. 37:12)." You might think that they were really pasturing their father's flock. (They were taking) a young kid and slaughtering him.⁴⁸

"All who were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron numbered. ... (Num. 3:39)." (Otherwise) you might think that Aaron was included with them in (their position of) authority.⁴⁹

"Or be on a journey afar off. ... (Num. 9:10)." [You might think]

⁴⁵ ARNB says that both "when she lay down" and "when she arose" are dotted, since they both have special markings in Ms. R. Most versions say that the first "when she arose" has a dot over the middle waw (*bqwmh*). See Nazir 23a and Hor 10b. ARNB is confused and is a later version (Blau, p. 13). Blau traces different versions of this dotted passage and concludes that originally both occurrences of "when she arose" (*bqwmh*) were dotted to show that Lot did realize that he had been sleeping with his daughters when they arose.

As can be seen in Schechter, n. 19, the manuscript tradition of ARNB is also confused. Ms. P is identical to Ms. R (Schechter's text).

⁴⁶ Esau is constantly presented as evil and malicious—see *Legends*, VII (Index): "Esau" passim. See Lieberman, *Hellenism*, pp. 45-46 and Blau, pp. 22-23. Blau explains that probably the word was to be omitted originally, to conform to Biblical usage. Then the meaning that it was an insincere kiss was added. Finally, Simeon ben Johai (in *SifreNum* and *BerRab* 78:9 [T-A, p. 927]; Simeon ben Eleazar in *ARBA* and *B*) reacted against that opinion to assert that this was the one sincere act in Esau's life.

⁴⁷ Schechter has a misprint, corrected on p. 173.

⁴⁸ Version A and other versions state specifically that they were eating, drinking and making merry. Originally the whole phrase "their father's flock" was dotted, but then only the sign of the accusative before it. And originally the meaning was that they were pasturing their own flocks. See Blau, pp. 23-25 and Ginsburg, pp. 325-26.

⁴⁹ Aaron is not to be included in the number counted because in Num. 4:41, 45, 46 Aaron takes part in the counting. Consequently, his name was dotted. See Bech 4a, Ginsburg, pp. 328-29 and Blau, pp. 9-10.

that the journey had to be literally afar off. The passage is dotted to show that it could be nearby.⁵⁰

"And we have laid waste as far as Nophah which is in Medeba (Num. 21:30)." You might think that they reached Medeba. The passage is dotted to show that they did not reach Medeba.⁵¹

"And a tenth [ephah]. ... (29:15)." You might think that two tenths are required for each lamb. The passage is dotted to show that only one tenth is required for each lamb.⁵²

- p. 98 "The secret things belong to the Lord our God; but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children until eternity. ... (Dt. 29:28)." But the dotting only goes up to the ayin of 'd.⁵³ You might think that these things are revealed to us in this world, but not in the world to come. Scripture teaches: "The secret things belong to the Lord our God; but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children." Though they may not be revealed to us in this world, they will be revealed to us in the age to come.

And similarly Scripture says: "And Jonathan the son of Gershom, son of Manasseh and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land. (Jug. 18:30)" But was he a son of Manasseh! Wasn't he a son of Moses? But because he acted like Manasseh, therefore he was suspended like the *nun* in Manasseh.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ See Version A and Pes 9:2 where a short journey is defined by some as beyond the threshold of the Temple. The original point of the dots here was probably different. See Ginsburg, pp. 322-23; Blau, pp. 25-28; and also Geiger, p. 186; TosPes 8:3; SifreNum 69 (Horovitz, p. 64).

⁵¹ The Mss. of ARNB dot *wnšym* and draw the point that they did not reach Medeba. Perhaps for this point 'd should be dotted. ARNA and other versions dot the resh of 'šr and draw a different point from the passage. See Ginsburg pp. 326-28 and Blau, pp. 28-30.

⁵² Both Num. 28:13 and 29:15 have the expression 'šrun 'šrun which is an idiom for a tenth in Hebrew. According to B the repetition of the word might lead one to bring two tenths. Therefore the second 'šrun is dotted in B. ARNB's dotting of one of the occurrences of 'šrun is correct, but the explanation offered for the dotting is secondary. See Men 87b, Ginsburg, p. 329 and Blau, pp. 15-17 for the original reason for the dotting.

⁵³ Probably the dotting of only one letter of 'd suggests a distinction between this world and the next. Originally "belong to the Lord our God" was dotted to yield the sense that the secret things and the revealed things belong to us. Ms. R dots *whnglut* ("and the things that are revealed") and then connects "us and our children" to "the secret things." See Sanh 43b; Ginsburg, pp. 330-31 and Blau, pp. 30-32.

⁵⁴ To this list of ten dotted passages is appended one case of the suspended nun. The suspended nun functions similarly to the dotted places in Scripture, but it clearly

Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar said : That nun will be struck from its place in the age to come.⁵⁵

Why are all these letters dotted ? This is what Ezra said : If Elijah comes and says : Why did you write this, I will say to him : I already dotted them ; and if he says : You have written it well, I will remove the dots from the letters.⁵⁶

TEN (times is the word) generations mentioned in the Torah.

"These are the generations of the heavens and the earth (Gen. 2:4)."

"These are the generations of Noah (Gen. 6:9)."

"These are the generations of Shem (Gen. 11:10)."

"These are the generations of Terah (Gen. 11:27)."

"These are the generations of Ishmael (Gen. 25:12)."

"These are the generations of Esau (Gen. 36:1)."

"These are the generations of Aaron and Moses (Num. 3:1)"⁵⁷

does not belong to list originally. The nun was raised off the line, since the Scribes did not dare to insert it into the text finally. Suspended letters are introduced into four passages in the Bible. See Ginsburg, pp. 335-37; Blau, pp. 46-49; and Geiger, pp. 258-59.

A nun is inserted into the name Moses (*msh*) and it becomes Manasseh (*mnskh*). The rationale given here is that one who acts like Manasseh and worships idol is the son of Manasseh. Schechter's text (Ms. R) says literally : he was hanged like Manasseh, but this would be odd for two reasons. We are not told that Manasseh was hanged (2 Ki. 21) and the rabbinic penalty for idolatry was stoning, not hanging (Sanh 7:4). TosSanh 14:8 deals with this passage and using similar language says that the sin was hanged upon (that is, connected to) the sinner in this passage. *lh* can mean "be ascribed to" and so "be related to". But then "like" (*kmw*) is difficult. So I follow Ms. H in the translation (Schechter, n. 27).

⁵⁵ Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar does not agree with the inserting of the nun and feels that it will not be allowed to remain when all uncertainties are resolved in the age to come. See the next note.

⁵⁶ This paragraph gives the original meaning of the dots—the rabbis were unsure of the readings. This paragraph occurs in ARNA and in NumRab 3:13. When Elijah comes, he is to solve all uncertainties. See Legends, IV, p. 233 and VI, pp. 339-40, nn. 108-09. Also Blau, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁷ Only seven texts are cited, mentioning eight men. Further generations (*twldwt*) mentioned in the Torah are those of Isaac (Gen. 25:19) and Jacob (Gen. 37:2). Also the generations of Perez in Ruth 4:18.

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

WITH TEN TRIALS OUR ANCESTORS TRIED THE HOLY ONE, BLESSED BE HE, IN THE WILDERNESS, AS SCRIPTURE SAYS : "THEY HAVE PUT ME TO PROOF THESE TEN TIMES (Num. 14:22)."¹ Why does Scripture say "these"? "These" refers to the last trial which was the hardest of all. Rabbi Judah says : It refers to the eleventh trial.² Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah says : "The Holy One, blessed be He, said : If Israel had repented in my presence, I would have forgiven them the ten trials."³

These are the trials. The first was (the time he said) "from the time when,"⁴ as Scripture says : "O Lord, why have you done evil to this people? Why did you even send me? For from the time when I came to Pharaoh to speak in your name; he has done evil to this people. ... (Ex. 5:23)."

And one at the sea, as Scripture says : "[Our father] rebelled at the sea, at the Reed Sea (Ps. 106:7)."⁵

Rabbi Judah says : One at the edge of the sea, one in the Reed Sea⁶ and one at Rephidim, as Scripture says : "And Moses said to

¹ See PA 5:4b, A pp. 98-99 (G pp. 136-37) and p. 39 (G p. 54). PA 5:4b and B are identical. Version A lacks Num. 14:22 and has instead a summary of the ten trials, followed by a detailed presentation. See different lists in Arak 15a and b; MidTan, pp. 1-3; MidPs 95:3 (Braude, II, pp. 137-38); JerTarg, I, Dt. 2:1; *Legends*, III, pp. 349-50 and VI, p. 121, n. 708.

² Num. 14:22 contains what could be an "unnecessary" word, "these" (zh). Two alternate explanations are offered.

Rabbi Judah refers to an eleventh trial, thus bringing up the vexing problem of the exact list and number of trials. See Goldin. Ch. 34, nn. 2-11 for a brief discussion of the difficulties in Version A and the problem of the eleventh entry. Rabbi Judah's comment may be an interpretation of "these". Or it may be a simple statement that there were eleven trials.

³ Rabbi Eleazar's comment possibly implies agreement with Rabbi Judah that an eleventh trial was listed.

⁴ The first trial was Moses complaint to God. Mss. P and H give the location of the complaint : "The first was in Egypt : 'For from the time when I came to Pharaoh. ...' " But these Mss. lack the introductory formula for a Scriptural quote, so Ms. R may be original.

⁵ See Ex. 14:10ff.

⁶ Rabbi Judah interprets the repetition Ps. 106:7 "at the sea, even at the Reed Sea" as a reference to two acts of rebellion. In ARNA Rabbi Judah says, "they were rebellious at the sea, they were rebellious in the sea," and then quotes Ps. 106:7. He understood that there was one rebellion on the bank of the sea and one within it (SifreDt 1 [Finkelstein, pp. 4-5]).

them : 'Why do you find fault with me ? Why do you put the Lord to the proof ?' (Ex. 17:2)"⁷

And one at Marah, as Scripture says : "There he made for them a statute and an ordinance and there he tried them. ... (Ex. 15:25)." ⁸

And one in connection with the quail, as Scripture says : "Would that we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt. ... (Ex. 16:3)."

And one in connection with manna, as Scripture says : "For there is no food and no water, and we loathe this worthless food (Num. 21:5)."

p. 99 And one at Taberah⁹ and one at Massah¹⁰ and one at Kibroth-hattaavah,¹¹ as Scripture says : "At Taberah also, and at Massah, and at Kibroth-hattaavah, you provoked the Lord to wrath (Dt. 9:22)."

And one the wilderness of Paran when they were spying out the land.¹²

Corresponding to these¹³ the Holy One, blessed be He, performed TEN miracles at the sea.¹⁴

He made it into walls on either side. There is no wall without a tower and no tower without a guard. (This means) that the ministering angels were guarding Israel lest they be harmed. Moses said to them : Come and cross. They replied to him : How can we cross between these walls, as Scripture says : "And the waters were a wall to them on their

⁷ Version A titles this incident "Arabah," the dry place, because the people cried out for water.

⁸ The Hebrew says "*He tried them*" (*nissāhū*), not that they tried him. But previously they had tried him at Marah (Ex. 15:24-25a).

⁹ See Num. 11:1-3.

¹⁰ See Ex. 17:7 where Moses, at Rephidim, names the place Massah and Meribah.

¹¹ See Num. 11:4 to 34. The craving of the people is mentioned in the first and last verses and the quails come in between. Kibroth-hattaavah is the place name given in vs. 34.

¹² Num. 13:3ff.

¹³ "These" refers to the ten trials.

¹⁴ See PA 5:4a and A p. 95 (G p. 133) and B p. 94 (Ch. 36) where the fact of ten miracles at the Sea is mentioned. For several detailed lists of ten miracles, see A pp. 96-98 (G pp. 133-36); Mech to Ex. 14:16 (Lauterbach, I, pp. 223-24); MechRS, pp. 59-60; Tan, *Beshalah*, 10; MidPs 114:7 (Braude, II, pp. 219-20), and 136:7 (Braude, II, p. 327). See Legends, III, p. 22 and VI, p. 6, n. 36.

Schechter (n. 4). points out that this list probably was not original here. It does occur relatively earlier in Version A and in a more congenial context. S. Towner (in his Yale Dissertation) treats this list on pp. 137ff. and concludes that the Mechilta is the earliest version of the list. MidPs 136 has eleven items and this list in B has only nine.

right hand and on their left (Ex. 14:29)." God compressed¹⁵ the heart of the sea so that the sea rose up and completely filled its banks. Just as a human heart¹⁶ is located two thirds of the way up and one third below (the head), so God compressed the heart of the sea and the sea rose up and completely filled its banks.¹⁷

God made (the sea)¹⁸ into a kind of vault, as Scripture says : "You pierced with his shafts the head of his warriors. ... (Hab. 3:14)." ¹⁹ Moses said to them : Come and cross. They replied to him : When the waters were below and the air above, we could not cross; and now that the waters are above and the air below, how much the more.

He made it into a kind of open space, as Scripture says : "The head of his warriors (*prz*). ... (Hab. 3:14)." "His warriors" (*przyw*) and merely an open space, as Scripture says : "Jerusalem shall be inhabited (*przwt*) as open (unwalled) villages. ... (Zech. 2:8)." ²⁰

p. 100 He drew fresh water for them from the salt water and Israel drank from it, as Scripture says : "He made streams come out of the rock, and caused waters to flow down rivers (Ps. 78:16)." ²¹

He made it like clay, as Scripture says : "You trampled the sea with your horses, the clay of many waters (Hab. 3:15)."

Further on Scripture says : "He made the waters stand like a heap (Ps. 78:13)." Like a heap placed between two courtyards. ²²

He made it into piles, as Scripture says : "At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up. ... (Ex. 16:8)."

He made it into pebbles,²³ as Scripture says : "You broke the sea into pieces by your might. ... (Ps. 74:13)."

¹⁵ *hgy* means to surround or bring around, meanings that do not fit here. Probably *hqp* (from *qph* : to coagulate, congeal) should be read.

¹⁶ Read *šlybw* in Ms. P (Schechter, p. 173).

¹⁷ This simile seems to mean that God brought the heart of the sea up high, just as a human heart is located high up in the body. Perhaps the heart of the sea is its depth, which rise up to fill its banks. See MidPs 114:7 (Braude, II, p. 220) and Mech to Ex. 15:8 (Lauterbach, II, p. 52)

¹⁸ 'š'w : "God made it" begins the recital of another miracle.

¹⁹ The sea seems to be pictured as a warrior pierced with a shaft, that is, God has pierced a passage through the sea.

²⁰ "Warriors" (*przyw*) occurs only here. A similar word *przh* means an open space or an unwalled village and occurs in Zech. 2:8 and a few texts. The similarity serves as a basis for this interpretation.

²¹ See A p. 98 (G p. 136) where flowing streams are seen to be fresh water.

²² Just how a heap between two courtyards is like the sea is not clear. Perhaps it means he heaped the water up between two walls.

²³ "Pebbles" (*prywt*) and "break in pieces" (*pr*) have a common root.

He made it into a valley and raised up grass so that Israel and its animals could eat and pasture there, as Scripture says : "Like cattle that go down into the valley. ... (Is. 63:14)."

TEN names are used for the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He.²⁴ And they are :

Might ('l) because he is king;

Lord ('dwn) because he is master of all;²⁵

God ('lhym) because he is judge;

p. 101. YHWH because he is merciful;²⁶

I AM WHO AM ('hyh 'šr 'hyh)²⁷ I AM as the redemption for the past; WHO AM as the redemption in the future.

Gracious (hwn)²⁸ because he gives gifts gratuitously;

Long-Suffering ('rk 'pym)²⁹ because he restrains his anger with the wicked;

Great in Kindness (rb hsd)²⁹ because he inclines toward kindness. Another interpretation. Great in Kindness because he multiplies deeds of kindness toward all the inhabitants of the world.

Shaddai (šdy) because it is enough³⁰ for the world that he is king over it. Another interpretation. Shaddai (because) when God created the world, it kept on expanding until it was told : Enough. Consequently, he is called El Shaddai.

Hosts because he commands all his hosts.³¹ Hosts because everything is obedient (to him).³² Hosts because all the commandments are in him.³³

²⁴ See two other lists of God's names without explanations in A p. 99 (G p. 137) and Mech to 23:13 (Lauterbach, III, p. 181). The lists have many names in common and some unique ones. No overall pattern relates them. See also the lists of names of God that may and may not be erased in Sheb 35a; JerMeg 71d; Soph 4:1.

²⁵ This interpretation is given in Aramaic.

²⁶ God ('lhym) is the name of God under the aspect of His justice. YHWH is His name under the aspect of His mercy. See Moore, I, p. 387 and III, pp. 120-21, n. 123.

²⁷ Ex. 3:14.

²⁸ Ex. 22:26.

²⁹ Ex. 34:6

³⁰ Both in this interpretation and the one following šdy (see Gen. 17:1, etc.) is read as š-dy, that is, because (š) it is enough (dy). See Hag 12a and BerRab 5:8 (T-A, p. 37).

³¹ šb'. the root of "hosts," is pronounced in the same way as šwh, meaning to command. The title (Lord) of Hosts is used, eg., in Is. 44:6.

³² šbwy also comes from šb'. See the previous note.

³³ Using šb' as šwh, as in the previous note, all commandments are said to (have their source) in him.

By TEN names are idols called.³⁴

"Others" : they were made last³⁵ in the days of Enoch. Similarly Scripture says : "[They sacrificed] to new gods that had come in of late, whom your fathers had never dreaded (Dt. 32:17)." Concerning them [Israel], the way they stood before Mount Sinai, Scripture says : "A spirit glided past my face; the hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not discern its appearance. A form was before my eyes; there was silence, then I heard a voice. ... (Job 4:15-16).³⁶

Idols because they stand there like excrement.³⁷

Sun images because they stand in the sun.³⁸

Asherim because they are erected by their worshippers.³⁹

Graven images because they make their worshipper unfit.⁴⁰

False gods because they bring mourning and enmity to their worshippers.⁴¹

Lifeless because they are hollow.⁴²

Fragments because they are broken into pieces.⁴³

Teraphim because they are without strength.⁴⁴

³⁴ Three other lists of names for idols are given in A p. 99 (G p. 137); Mech to 23:13 (Lauterbach, III, p. 181) and Sifra 87a. Version B and Mech have eleven names for idols; four of B's names do not occur on any other list. No original order seems to underlie the three lists. MhM, IV, p. 489 has a composite list, copied from none of our sources.

³⁵ Both the word for "others" and for "last" come from the same Hebrew root : 'hr. The idea is that the other gods are not original and that they are only false innovations. See *Legends*, I, pp. 122-23, and V, pp. 150-51, n. 54.

³⁶ Job 4:15-16 is taken as a description of the people's experience at Sinai. This is God whom they dreaded there and He is different from these new gods.

³⁷ Idols are *ghulym*; dung is *gilym*. Both are from the root *gll* meaning to roll; to fold; a ball or heap of dung.

³⁸ *hmn* (sun image) and *hmk* (sun) both come from the root *hmm*.

³⁹ 'šrym (Asherim) and mī'srym (erected) are both from the root 'šr, to be firm, strong; to exalt; to attest.

⁴⁰ *psylym* (graven images) and *psl* (to make unfit) are from the same root. *psl*, which means to cut, sculpt, disfigure and so render defective.

⁴¹ 'lylym (false gods) and mourning ('ly') both seem to come from a similar root like 'wl or 'll. Actually mourning comes from *yll*. I emend *bb'* which means gate and does not fit here, to *dbb'*, enmity. This is a very tentative suggestion since there is no Ms. authority for this. Ms. P seems to read *kyby'*

⁴² *hll* means both "slain" and "hollow".

⁴³ *prqym* is not listed in Scripture as a name for idols. Schechter, n. 22, suggests that 'šbylm might be meant but then there is no pun on the root *prq*, to break. Is the author interpreting *prq* of Nah. 3:1 as an idol or does he have in mind Ex. 32:2 where they tore off their earrings to make the calf.

⁴⁴ *trpym* (Teraphim) and to be weak (*rph*) seem to come from the same root and so were connected by the commentators.

Massebot because they stand them up as a massebah.⁴⁵

Molten image because they make it by pouring.⁴⁶

TEN things are the equal of all the transgressions in the Torah : the Shema, phylacteries, fringes, Sabbath, temple worship, circumcision, tithes, justice, charity (to the poor), separation (from) idolatry.⁴⁷

There are ELEVEN yods in the Torah.⁴⁸

"The king of Bela—it (*hy*) is Zoar (Gen. 14:2)."

"Did he not himself say to me, 'She is my sister'? And she (*hy*) herself said, 'He is my brother' (Gen. 20:5)."

"As she was being brought out, she (*hy*) sent word to her father-in-law. ... (Gen. 38:25)."

p. 102 "And if any animal of which (*hy*) you may eat dies. ... (Lev. 11:39)."

"She (*hy*) profanes her father (Lev. 21:9)."

"And he sees her nakedness and she (*hy*) sees his nakedness. ... (Lev. 20:17)."

"It (*hy*) is a Sabbath of solemn rest to you. ... (Lev. 16:31)" in the section *Ahare Mot* [Lev. 16-20].

"Which (*hy*) has turned the hair white. ... (Lev. 13:10)."

"And it is not deeper than the skin, but it (*hy*) is dim. ... (Lev. 13:21)."

"And if the spirit of jealousy comes upon him, and he is jealous of his wife, though she (*hy*) has not defiled herself. ... (Num. 5:14)."

p. 103 two men's lives spanned twenty-four generations.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *mšbut* (Massebot) comes from *nšb*, to stand up.

⁴⁶ *mskh* (molten image) comes from *nsk*, to pour.

⁴⁷ This list of ten duties tells us what its compilers considered the most important obligations in a Jew's life. No parallel to the list is known, so it cannot be compared or dated accurately.

PesRab 8:4 (Friedmann, 29b; Braude, p. 151) refers to seven commandments specifically set down in the Torah : offerings to priests, tithes for the Levites and tithes for the poor, Sabbath years, Jubilee years, circumcision, filial respect and the study of Torah.

⁴⁸ Previously in this chapter we have had groups of ten; now we move to several odd numbered groups. For the eleven uses of *hy*' rather than *hw*' see also A p. 101 (G pp. 139-40). Both lists in A and B lack one entry—A lacks Lev. 16:31 and B lacks Num 5:13. See A . Geiger, *Urchrift*, pp. 235-36; GeseniusKC p. 107; Bauer-Leander, p. 248g. See also Ch. 46, n. 19.

⁴⁹ Ms. H says that three men's lives spanned twenty-four generations. But, as Schechter (note 27) states, Sed01Rab Ch. 1 (Ratner, pp. 7-8) is correct in telling us that four men's lives spanned twenty-two generations. The four men are Adam, Methuselah, Shem and Jacob. From Adam to Noah is ten generations, from Noah to Abraham is another ten, followed by Isaac and Jacob.

And SEVEN men covered the whole (history of) the world.⁵⁰ They are the following. Adam⁵¹ saw Methuselah; Methuselah⁵² saw Shem; Shem⁵³ saw Jacob; Jacob⁵⁴ saw Serah; Serah⁵⁵ saw Ahijah; Ahijah⁵⁶ saw Elijah and Elijah⁵⁷ lives and exists until the messiah shall come.

⁵⁰ See Sed01Rab Ch. 1 (Ratner, p. 8) and BabBat 121b which both have Amran instead of Serah.

⁵¹ See Gen. 5:5—Adam lived 930 years.

⁵² See Gen. 5:27—Methuselah lived 969 years.

⁵³ See Gen. 11:10-11—Shem lived 600 years.

⁵⁴ Seder Olam Rabbah says that Jacob lived for 50 years on earth with Shem.

⁵⁵ Serah was a daughter of Asher (Gen. 46:17) and a legendary prophetess. On her long life, see Sot 13a and BerRab 94:9 (T-A, p. 1182).

⁵⁶ In Seder Olam Rabbah he is called the Shilonite (1 Ki. 11:19; 12:15; 15:29). Ahijah was a prophet in the time of Jeroboam.

⁵⁷ Elijah was active during the reign of Ahab. In 2 Ki. 2:11-12 Elijah is taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot and so still lives. to return as precursor of the Messiah. See Moore, II, pp. 357-60.

CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

TEN miracles were wrought in Jerusalem¹.

No man ever said to his friend : I have no passover (animal);
I have no oven (to cook it in).²

p. 104 After they had roasted their passover lambs, the earth used to
swallow up the ovens.³

And no one ever had to lodge outside the gate of Jerusalem.⁴
No man ever said to his friend : I have no Lulab ;

¹ This chapter concerns things said of Jerusalem. See A Ch. 35 for similar material. This first list of miracles wrought in Jerusalem has a parallel at the beginning of Ch. 35 of A (p. 103 ; G p. 143). The lists in A and B are much more different than alike in their particulars. In addition, A has only eight entries.

In most Mss. and versions both A and B begin the list with the statement that these are ten miracles wrought in *the Temple*. I follow Ms. N which has "in Jerusalem". Ms. N may either be original or a correction. At any rate, a different list of miracles wrought in the Temple occurs in PA 5:5, in A Ch. 35 and later in this chapter. This second list concerns things more directly related to the Temple, while the list before us concerns things generally pertaining to Jerusalem. The first seven items of the list in B concern the pilgrimage feasts which were held in Jerusalem.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 89-92) holds that the two lists are related and that the list before us was an attempt to name events that are more clearly miracles than those in the other list (occurring later on) which are extraordinary events rather than strict miracles. This relationship of the two lists is reinforced by the fact that the list before us begins with the association of the list with the *Temple*, when it really concerns Jerusalem. Furthermore, two of the items on the list in A and one in B are from the second list of miracles in the Temple as recorded in PA.

Against Finkelstein we can argue that some of the items in each list seem to be miracles in the more strict sense and some extraordinary events. This conclusion is further supported by the interchanging of some of the items from one list to the other. Perhaps one of the lists was compiled first (the Temple ?) and then that suggested to people that miracles also occurred with reference to the other place (Jerusalem ?).

² See A p. 103 (G p. 143) where the oven is mentioned without reference to the passover lamb.

³ Each passover lamb had to be roasted separately in its own oven. See Pes 76b. The ovens were portable and made of clay (Taan 3:8). See Bialoblotski, p. 33. One of the miracles was that the ovens were swallowed up by the earth, probably so that Jerusalem would not be cluttered with them .

⁴ This item occurs in a different form in A p. 103 (G p. 143) and also in the form of the list of miracles connected with the Temple which is found in PA 5:5. The problem of finding lodging would occur during the pilgrimage festivals when the city was crowded with transients.

I have no Succah.

If prices were high there, when they entered, they would drop⁵

No one was ever attacked (by demons) in Jerusalem.⁶

p. 105 Everyone who was attacked (by demons outside of Jerusalem) was cured, when he saw the walls of Jerusalem.

NO SERPENT OR SCORPION EVER HARMED ANYONE IN JERUSALEM.⁷

TEN MIRACLES WERE WROUGHT IN THE TEMPLE.⁸

NO WOMAN EVER MISCARRIED IN JERUSALEM.

THE SACRED FLESH NEVER WENT BAD IN JERUSALEM.

THE HIGH PRIEST NEVER SUFFERED UNCLEANNESS ON THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.⁹

A DEFECT WAS NEVER FOUND IN THE OMER OR IN THE TWO LOAVES OR IN THE SHOWBREAD.¹⁰

A FLY WAS NEVER SEEN IN THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE.

NOR WAS AN UNCLEAN REPTILE.

BIRDS NEVER PASSED OVER IT (THE TEMPLE).¹¹

THE WIND NEVER PREVAILED OVER THE CLOUD OF INCENSE SMOKE.

THE ENTRY OF THE COURTYARD WAS FORTY CUBITS HIGH AND TWENTY CUBITS WIDE AND FORTY THOUSAND PEOPLE USED TO GO OUT THROUGH IT.

AND THE TENTH MIRACLE WAS MORE REMARKABLE THAN ALL : WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE STANDING AND PRAYING, THEY WERE PRESSED TOGETHER : YET WHEN THEY BOWED DOWN IN WORSHIP, THERE WAS A SPACE OF FOUR CUBITS BETWEEN ONE PERSON AND ANOTHER.

The hinges of the Temple gates were heard for eight sabbath limits¹² and drowned out all sounds.

⁵ High prices in a year when food was scarce would make it expensive and difficult for pilgrims to feed themselves while in Jerusalem.

⁶ See the commentaries on A Ch. 35, especially Binyan Joshua and Kisse Rahamim, where *npg'* means "demented" or "possessed by a demon."

⁷ In PA 5:5 this is the ninth item on the list. It does not recur in B's version of the second list immediately following.

⁸ See note 1 above. Seven of the entries in this list are found in PA 5:5 and six are found in A pp. 105-06 (G pp. 145-47).

⁹ For the pollution which occurred to Matthias and kept him from officiating, see Hor 12b and Yoma 12b. See also Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 166, where it is connected to the Fast of Esther, 11 Adar; A p. 105 (G p. 146); and Lieberman, *Hellenism*, p. 177, n. 120 for the matter of an exception from this miracle.

¹⁰ See Lev. 23:9ff. and 25:4-9.

¹¹ See Lieberman, *Hellenism*, pp. 168-78 for the precautions taken against birds at the Temple and also for various other *realia* connected to the Temple.

¹² The following few paragraphs concern extraordinary events connected to sound,

- p. 106 As far as Jericho they used to hear the sound of the singing.¹³
 As far as Jericho they used to hear the sound of the hinges.¹⁴
 As far as Jericho they used to hear the sound of the ram's horn
 and of the tube.¹⁵
 As far as Jericho they used to hear the sound of the trumpets.
 As far as Jericho they used to hear the voice of the high priest
 on the Day of Atonement, when he said : O Lord. ...¹⁶
 As far as Jericho they used to smell of the compounding of the
 incense. And some say (they smelled it) on the hills of Mikvar also.
 Rabbi Eleazar ben Dlgai said : My father's house kept goats on
 the hills of Mikvar and they used to sneeze from the smell of the
 compounding of the incense.¹⁷

The miracle of the *magrephah*¹⁸ was more remarkable than all of these : when they put it between the courtyard and the altar, no one in Jerusalem could hear another's voice above that of the *magrephah*. (Its sound) served three purposes : when a priest heard its sound, he knew that his brother-priests were ready to worship, so he came running. And when a Levite heard its sound, he knew that his brother-

smell, the Temple and Jericho. See Tamid 3:8; Yoma 39b; and JerSuk 5:3 (55b).

The text in B is difficult. But see Schechter, n. 6, and Yoma 39b which I follow in the translation here. A sabbath limit is 2,000 cubits.

¹³ This is the first item which occurs in Tamid 3:8. Schechter puts it into the text here, though it does not occur in Mss. R and H. Jericho is said to be ten parasangs from Jerusalem in Yoma 20b and 39b.

¹⁴ See Tamid 3:7-8 for the opening of the gate. The hinges have already occurred above, but not in connection with Jericho. The hinges and the *magrephah*, which occur below, seem to have been the most striking things in the Temple which made extraordinary noise.

¹⁵ The ram's horn occurs in Tamid 3:8. "Tube" is a very tentative translation for *šwpr*. Was it perhaps a musical instrument?

¹⁶ See Yoma 39b and Yoma 20b. In the first of these sources we are told that God's name was pronounced ten times on the Day of Atonement : three times at the first confession, twice at the second confession, three times when the scapegoat was sent away and once when lots were drawn for the goat. For an analysis of the texts where God's names are said to be pronounced indistinctly or not at all, etc., see A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God : I The Names and Attributes of God* (OUP, 1927), pp. 17-40. See also Alon, *Mehqarim*, I, pp. 194-205.

¹⁷ See Tamid 3:8; Yoma 39b. Jose ben Dlgai is the name given in Yoma 39b. Eleazar or Jose, this sage occurs only in this context. Mikvar (variously spelled) is mentioned in JerShab 9:2 as a mountain across the Jordan. See Neubauer, *Géographie*, p. 40.

¹⁸ The *magrephah* was, according to Arakin 11a, a musical instrument with ten pipes and ten holes in each pipe. It is sometimes translated as the "shovel" since the root *grp* means to scrape or dig.

levites were standing at the platform and he came running. And (when he heard its sound) the head of the *ma'amad* used to stand those who were unclean at the eastern gate.¹⁹

By TEN names of praise is Jerusalem called :²⁰ city, town, Faithful,²¹
p. 107 Married,²² Sought out,²³ My Delight is in her,²⁴ The Lord is there,²⁵
Justice,²⁶ Peace,²⁷ Jebusite.²⁸

By TEN names of contempt is Jerusalem called : Widow,²⁹ Prostitute³⁰
Bereaved,³¹ Barren,³² Exile,³³ Rebel,³⁴ Abandoned,³⁵ Hated,³⁶ Afflicted,³⁷ Storm-tossed.³⁸

In TEN things Jerusalem excels all other lands.³⁹

¹⁹ See Tamid 5:6 which speaks of throwing the *magrephah* down between the porch and altar, when the daily procession reached the point on the way to sacrifice; this "throwing" of it called the priests, etc., to their tasks. The *ma'amad* was a group of lay representatives who were present at the daily sacrifices.

²⁰ The following two lists occur only in ARNB.

²¹ See Is. 1:26 for these first three names. Is. 1:26 has "city of holiness" and Ms. P follows this text (Schechter, p. 172).

²² Is. 62:4.

²³ Is. 62:12.

²⁴ Is. 62:4.

²⁵ Ez. 48:35.

²⁶ Is. 26:1: 'yr ḥṣḏq.

²⁷ See Ps. 147:14.

²⁸ Jos. 15:8.

²⁹ See Lam. 1:1.

³⁰ Ez. 16:35.

³¹ Is. 49:21.

³² Is. 49:21.

³³ Is. 49:21.

³⁴ Is. 49:21.

³⁵ Is. 60:15.

³⁶ Is. 60:15.

³⁷ Is. 54:11.

³⁸ Is. 54:11.

³⁹ See A p. 104 (G p. 143-44); TosNeg 6:2; BabKam 82b. L. Finkelstei ("Ha-n Halakot She-Ne'emru Birushalayim" [The Halakot Taught Concerning Jerusalem] in Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, New York, 1950, pp. 351-69) gives all versions in full with a discussion of their relationship. He finds the list of Halakot to be Shammaite, even though PA 5 is generally a Hillelite work, and he places it before the destruction of the Temple. See also S. Bialoblotzki, "Yerushalayim ba-Halakah" [Jerusalem in the Halakah] in *Alei Ayin : The Salman Schocken Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1948-52, pp. 25-74, and Alexander Guttman, "Jerusalem in Tannaitic Law", *HUCA* 40-41 (1969-70), 251-75.

Houses may not be rented there.⁴⁰

The second tithe cannot be redeemed there.⁴¹

The lesser sacrifices may be eaten there.⁴²

Projections and balconies may not be built over public streets.⁴³

Manure may not be brought in there.⁴⁴

They do not make dunghills on its public streets.

Roosters are not raised there, and it goes without saying, neither are small cattle.⁴⁵

The dead may not be buried there.⁴⁶

The dead may not be lodged there overnight⁴⁷ with the exception of the graves of the house of David, the grave of Isaiah and the grave of Huldah.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Rent may not be collected in Jerusalem because according to one opinion Jerusalem belonged to all the tribes rather than to any particular ones. Consequently no one could collect anything from another. See TosNeg 6:2; TosMaasSheni 1:12; JerOrl 1:2 (60d and 61a); Yoma 12a; Meg 26a. See also Finkelstein, pp. 359-60 where he holds that the text in ARNA about selling houses from the ground up derives from the original text; see also Bialoblotzki, p. 28.

⁴¹ See Ch. 19, n. 4. The second tithes separated in Jerusalem could be eaten right there and so need not be redeemed for money to be transported to Jerusalem.

⁴² See Zeb 5:6-8 for the types of sacrifices which may be eaten anywhere in Jerusalem.

⁴³ A corpse could convey uncleanness if one was overshadowed by it. See Num. 19:14; Ohol 2:1, 3:1, 3:4; Elijah Gaon, *The Rules of Uncleaness*, in Danby, *Mishnah*, p. 800ff., Rule 6; Bialoblotzki, pp. 31-32. Version A makes this reason explicit: "lest, by overshadowing, they give passage to corpse uncleanness."

For balcony, read *kšwšrywt* with Mss. R and P, instead of Schechter's emendations. They are variants of Ms. N's *bšwšrywt* (Jastrow, pp. 183-84).

⁴⁴ ARNA adds: "because of uncleanness." The same applies to the next item in the list. See Bialoblotzki, p. 32.

⁴⁵ See ARNA and BabKam 82b where pigs are especially mentioned. BabKam 7:7 and Goldin (Ch. 35, n. 16) explain that these animals might defile holy things with the food they gather from refuse.

⁴⁶ The halakah that the dead may not be buried in Jerusalem goes with the comment (in the next paragraph) that the graves of the house of David and of Hulda were left in Jerusalem. See Bialoblotzki, p. 36 and Finkelstein, pp. 361-62. See Sanh 6:5 where the body of the executed is not to be left out overnight.

⁴⁷ See the previous note. BabKam 82b says simply: "This is known by tradition." Reasons for observing this rule especially in Jerusalem are suggested by Bialoblotzki, pp. 34-35. Lieberman (*Tosefet Rishonim*, III, p. 190) correctly notes that this is not a law concerning burial outside a walled city but precisely concerns not having a corpse in Jerusalem overnight. Concerning the difficulties of carrying this out during siege, see Sifra 112a and Johanan's ruse in B Ch. 6 and A Ch. 4.

⁴⁸ The tomb of David was in Jerusalem—1 Ki. 2:10; *Legends*, IV, pp. 119-20; VI,

No plants may be planted there except for rose gardens which had been planted since the days of the early prophets.⁴⁹

p. 108 From Migdal Eder to the walls of Jerusalem, (if there is doubt about an animal), it is the seller who presents evidence, saying : I sold it for secular use.⁵⁰ In the rest of the land of Israel, it is up to the buyer to present evidence, saying : I bought it for secular use.

p. 276, n. 144. Many miracles were associated with it.

For the many legends of the death of Isaiah, see *Legends*, VI, pp. 374-75, n. 103. His burial is not mentioned. Isaiah's name does not occur in any of the parallels. See additional parallels in Semahot 14:10; TosBabBat 1:1; JerNaz 9:3 (57d.) See MidTan, p. 115 where the graves of prophets are mentioned in the plural.

For Huldah the prophetess, see 2 Ki. 22:14ff.; *Legends*, VI, p. 441, n. 32.

All graves were moved outside Jerusalem, except for those of the house of David, Hulda and Isaiah. Some said that they were allowed there (because of their sanctity and importance); but Akiba (and later others) held that a tunnel from their graves took away the uncleanness to the Kedron. See Finkelstein, pp. 361-62; Bialoblotzki, p. 36.

⁴⁹ See BabKam 82b where the reason is given that they have a bad odor when they have withered. See Bialoblotzki, pp. 33-34 and Josephus, *Apion*, I, 199 where Josephus says that there was no trace of a plant or sacred grove or the like on the Temple Mount.

⁵⁰ See Shek 7:4 where any cattle found near Jerusalem are presumed to be escaped consecrated animals and thus unfit for secular use. See Bialoblotzki, p. 44.

Migdal Eder is mentioned in Shek 7:4. See Gen. 35:21 where it is near Bethlehem and see also Mic. 4:8; Neubauer, *Géographie*, p. 152.

CHAPTER FORTY

- p. 110 TEN QUALITIES CHARACTERIZE THE CLOD AND TEN THE WISE MAN.¹
 THE WISE MAN DOES NOT SPEAK BEFORE THOSE WHO ARE GREATER
 THAN HE;
 HE DOES NOT BREAK INTO ANOTHER'S SPEECH;
 HE IS NOT IN A RUSH TO REPLY;
 HE ASKS WHAT IS RELEVANT AND REPLIES TO THE POINT;²
 HE SPEAKS OF FIRST THINGS FIRST AND OF LAST THINGS LAST;³
 OF WHAT HE KNOWS (HE SAYS) HE KNOWS AND OF WHAT HE DOES NOT
 KNOW (HE SAYS) HE DOES NOT KNOW;⁴
 HE ACKNOWLEDGES WHAT IS TRUE;
 AND HE IS NOT ASHAMED TO SAY : I HAVE NOT HEARD.⁵
- p. 111 A CLOD IS JUST THAT; HE IS ALWAYS IN A RUSH TO SPEAK;⁶

¹ The series of odd numbered groups begun in the last chapter continues through this one and part of the way through the next. Then, in the middle of Ch. 42 we return to groups of ten.

We are roughly following the order of PA Ch. 5. This paragraph corresponds to PA 5:7, which speaks, however, of seven characteristics of the clod, not ten. See also A pp. 110-11 (G p. 155). B actually lists only eight characteristics of the clod and eight of the wise man instead of the ten it promises. Perhaps the ten mentioned at the beginning reflects an editor's consciousness that ARNB is dealing with groups of ten in surrounding paragraphs.

The characteristics are not in the same order in the negative and positive lists and the extra eighth characteristic in the first list does not match that in the second list.

Lists of vices and virtues are popular in the New Testament and Hellenistic literature. See Romans 1:28-32, for example, and the comparative studies listed by Otto Michel, *Der Brief an der Römer* (Meyer 4 : Gottingen, 1957).

² Mss. R and P have : "He asks questions to the point and replies relevantly." Ms. R also has the same order when the characteristic of the clod is given on p. 111, l. 3. But Ms. H, PA and ARNA all have it as in the translation and when this clause is quoted for comment on p. 112, l. 11, it is also given as in the translation.

³ Ms. P has : He says concerning the first that it is first and concerning the last that it is last.

⁴ This is the extra characteristic not mentioned in other versions of this saying. The phrases added in parentheses seem required by the sense of the saying.

⁵ See Goldin, Ch. 37, n. 47. "I have not heard" refers to having learned authoritative tradition which can then be taught or used to settle paractical cases.

⁶ "Clod" in Hebrew is *gwl'm*, which means an unshaped mass. It was used previously of Adam's soulless lump (Chs. 1 and 8). The root means to roll up, to have in an unfinished state. It does not have any usage which means to be in a rush to speak. Perhaps the

HE BREAKS INTO ANOTHER'S SPEECH;
 HE SPEAKS BEFORE THOSE WHO ARE GREATER THAN HE;
 HE IS IN A RUSH TO REPLY;
 HE ASKS IMPROPER QUESTIONS AND REPLIES WITH IRRELEVANCIES;
 HE SPEAKS OF FIRST THINGS LAST AND LAST THINGS FIRST;
 HE DOES NOT ACKNOWLEDGE WHAT IS TRUTH;
 HE IS ASHAMED TO LEARN; AND HE IS ASHAMED TO SAY : I HAVE
 NOT LEARNED.⁷

TEN QUALITIES CHARACTERIZE THE WISE MAN.⁸

THE WISE MAN DOES NOT SPEAK HURRIEDLY. This refers to Elihu, as Scripture says : "Bear with me a little and I will show you. ... (Job 36:2)."⁹

HE DOES NOT BREAK INTO ANOTHER'S SPEECH. This refers to Aaron when Moses said to him : "Why have you not eaten the sin offering in the place of the sanctuary? (Lev. 10:17)" He did not want to say to him : Moses, my brother, we are mourners¹⁰ and a mourner may not

idea of articulating half formed thoughts in a hurry is suggested by the root *glm*.

This entry is the unique one in this list. Other versions of the saying do not list the qualities of the boor. They are merely said to be the opposites of the qualities of the wise man.

⁷ A further sentence in Aramaic is added in Ms. R : "This latter is the first and that first is the second." See Schechter, n. 7, who speculates that this sentence may have been originally a comment on : "He speaks of first things last and last things first." Or it may be the comment of a scribe who thought that the order wise man, clod should be reversed.

⁸ The comments on the sayings just enunciated take up the rest of the chapter. Only eight qualities of the wise man were listed above. Here, one of those statements is skipped, two are added, and one characteristic of the boor is also interpreted, to make a total of ten. Perhaps ten interpretations were given to fulfill the number ten used at the beginning. Or the reverse might be true, that the ten interpretations led a scribe to write ten at the beginning.

The lists of characteristics seem to have been fluid and the compiler seems to have drawn from diverse materials. See A pp. 111-12 (G pp. 155-57).

⁹ This statement does not occur in the previous list of the wise man's characteristics. Its opposite does occur, however, as a characteristic of the boor. Furthermore, a similar statement, "He is not in a rush to reply," is not commented on here.

Elihu begins speaking in Job Ch. 32. Here in Ch. 36 he is still speaking and asks that his listeners be patient with the fact that it takes him so long to say what he wishes. His speaking slowly and carefully is a sign of his wisdom.

¹⁰ The word used is *'wnn*, which refers to a mourner between death and burial of a kinsman (Zeb 100b; JerPes 8:8 (36b); Semahot 4:4 [Zlotnik, p. 40]). *'bl* refers to the mourner during the seven days after the burial (Semahot 5:1 [Zlotnik, p. 45]).

eat consecrated food of a lesser grade. Cannot an inference be drawn? If lesser consecrated foods are forbidden to us as mourners, all the more a sin offering which is a sacrifice of more consecrated food. In this way Aaron argued by inference.¹¹

Greater than all (examples) is that of the Holy One, blessed be He, who did not want to break into the speech of Abraham our father, may he rest in peace, when he stood pleading for the Sodomites. God did not find (an opportunity to reply) but rather he waited until Abraham finished speaking and then he finally responded,¹² as Scripture says: "And the Lord went his way, when he had finished speaking to Abraham; and Abraham returned to his place (Gen. 18:33)." Cannot an inference be drawn? If the Holy One, blessed be He, to whom belong the world and its fullness, did not want to break into the speech of Abraham our father, is it not reasonable that a human being, made of dust, worm and maggot, should not break into the speech of another.

HE DOES NOT SPEAK BEFORE THOSE WHO ARE GREATER THAN HE. This refers to Moses when the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: "Come now, I will send you to Pharaoh. ... (Ex. 3:10)." Moses said in his presence: Lord of the universe, Aaron my brother is greater than I¹³ and I cannot speak in his presence. What did (Moses) do? He went and arranged the words (for Aaron), as Scripture says: "And Aaron spoke all the words which the Lord had spoken to Moses. ... (Ex. 4:30)." And similarly Scripture says: "Oh, my Lord, send, I

¹¹ Perhaps "to Moses" should be added here (Schechter, n. 8; Ms. R with *mšh*). See Lev. 10:1-2 and 12-20. After Aaron's two older sons are killed for sacrificing improperly, his two younger sons take over their duties. They burn instead of eat the sin offering. Moses then rebukes them for this. Aaron does not interrupt Moses. He waits until he is finished rebuking them and then points out to him that they are mourning and therefore cannot properly eat of the sacrifices. Our text does not make it clear that Aaron waited until Moses was finished and then told him the reason his sons had acted as they did. Perhaps it should read: "He did not want to break into the speech of Moses" rather than "He did not want to say to Moses." See the next paragraph for this expression.

Lev. 10:19-20 is the basis for the law that mourning priests cannot eat consecrated food. See Sifra 47c and d; Zeb 101a. Concerning not interrupting another, see SifreNum 103 (Horovitz, p. 101).

¹² Two phrases are unclear: *'ynw mus'* (he did not find?) and *b'hruvnh h'zr whšybw* (he finally turned and responded?).

¹³ In this case "greater" means older. According to Ex. 7:7 Aaron is three years older than Moses.

pray, some other person (Ex. 4:13)." They looked at Michael who is the greatest of all.¹⁴

p. 112 HE ASKS IMPROPER QUESTIONS AND REPLIES WITH IRRELEVANCIES. This refers to Reuben, as Scripture says : "Then Reuben said to his father : 'Slay my two sons if I do not bring him back to you' (Gen 42:37)." Was our father Jacob, then, a murderer ? One surely does not answer meaningless chatter.¹⁵

Rabbi Nehemiah and Rabbi Marinos said in the name of Rabbi Nehorai : When someone would make a cogent¹⁶ statement in the presence of Rabbi Tarfon, he used to say : Well spoken¹⁷ When someone would make a meaningless statement, he used to say : "My son shall not go down with you. ... (Gen. 42:38)."¹⁸

HE ASKS WHAT IS RELEVANT AND REPLIES TO THE POINT. This refers to Judah of whom Scripture said : "And Judah said to Israel his father, 'Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go, that we may live and not die, both we and you and also our little ones. I will be surety for him ; of my hand you shall require him (Gen. 43:8-9).'"¹⁹

HE SPEAKS OF FIRST THINGS FIRST AND OF LAST THINGS LAST. This refers to Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, as Scripture says : "And he said : 'Tell me whose daughter you are. Is there room in your father's house for us to lodge in ?' She said to him, 'I am the daughter of

¹⁴ For the statement that Michael is the greatest of all the angels, see BerRab 48:10 (T-A, p. 486). For Moses' desire that God send an angel, see *Legends*, II, p. 325 ; V, p. 422, n. 137.

¹⁵ This is a characteristic of the boor, not of the wise man. ARNA p. 112 (G p. 157) also incorporates a comment on the boor under the heading of the wise man's positive characteristic.

¹⁶ I read *tqyp* with Ms. R. Ms. P (p. 173) has *tqyn*. See also Schechter, n. 13.

¹⁷ Literally *kptwr wprh*, as in Exodus 25:33 : the capital (shaped like a pomegranate) and blossom on the end of each arm of the candlestick. The same expression occurs in BerRab 91:9 (T-A, p. 1133).

¹⁸ See also BerRab 91:9 (T-A, p. 1133). Gen. 42:38 is Jacob's answer to Reuben (he spoke in the previous verse) which pays no attention to Reuben's statement. Jacob rejects Reuben's suggestion indirectly, as does Rabbi Tarfon the inane comments of his students.

Tarfon was a contemporary of Akiba in the second generation and the other three sages were of the next generation. Some say that Nehemiah is identical with Nehorai, but Strack and Bacher reject this (Strack, p. 116). For Marinos, who was not a famous sage, see Hyman, *Toledot*, p. 910.

¹⁹ This example only makes sense if the negative example has been previously given. This may explain the intrusion of the negative characteristic into this series of interpretations. See note 15 above.

Bethuel the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor'. She added, 'We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in' (Gen. 24:23-25)."

OF WHAT HE KNOWS (HE SAYS) HE KNOWS AND OF WHAT HE DOES NOT KNOW (HE SAYS) HE DOES NOT KNOW.

This refers to the men of Haran when Jacob said to them : " 'My brothers, where do you come from?' They said, 'We are from Haran.' He said to them, 'Do you know Laban the son of Nahor?' They said, 'We know of him.' He said to them, 'Is it well with him?' They said, 'It is well' (Gen. 29:4-6)." And if you want to talk (about him), "See, Rachel his daughter is coming with the sheep (Gen. 29:6)." ²⁰

HE ACKNOWLEDGES WHAT IS TRUE. This refers to Moses, as Scripture says : "And when Moses heard that, he was content (Lev. 10:20)." ²¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, acknowledges the truth, as Scripture says : "And the Lord said to Moses : 'The daughters of Zelophehad are right' (Num. 27:6-7)." "The tribe of the sons of Joseph is right (Num. 36:5)." "Then the Lord said : 'I have pardoned according to your word. ...' (Num. 14:20)." On the basis of this passage the Sages said : Blessed is he whose words the Holy One, blessed be He, acknowledges. ²²

HE IS NOT ASHAMED TO LEARN. This refers to Moses, as Scripture says : "And Moses brought their case before the Lord (Num. 27:5)." ²³

HE IS NOT ASHAMED TO SAY : I HAVE NOT HEARD. This refers to Moses, as Scripture says : "And Moses said to them : 'Wait, that I may hear what the Lord will command concerning you' (Numb. 9:8)." ²⁴

²⁰ See note 4 above. The men of Haran know the limits of their knowledge and at the appropriate moment refer Jacob to someone with the knowledge that he requires.

²¹ See note 11. Moses hears Aaron's explanation and changes his mind to approval.

²² For this final expression, see Mech to Ex. 20:19 (Lauterbach, p. 271) and SifreNum to 27:6-7 (Horovitz, pp. 177-78).

²³ This statement is not contained in the list of characteristics of the wise man given at the beginning of the chapter. Its proof verse is Num. 27:5, which precedes the proof verse quoted for the last item in the previous paragraph. It is the opposite of "He is ashamed to learn" on p. 111.

²⁴ See note 5 above and also Sifre 47d.

CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

p. 113 SEVEN KINDS OF CALAMITY COME UPON THE WORLD FOR SEVEN CLASSES OF TRANSGRESSION :¹

IF SOME TITHE AND SOME DO NOT, FAMINE AS A RESULT OF DROUGHT COMES UPON THE WORLD, as Scripture says : "Therefore the heavens above you have withheld the dew, and the earth has withheld its produce (Hag. 1:10)."²

IF [ALL] DETERMINE NOT TO TITHE AT ALL, AN ALL CONSUMING FAMINE COMES UPON THE WORLD, as Scripture says : "You shall eat the flesh of your sons and you shall eat the flesh of your daughters (Lev. 26:29)."³ The Holy One, blessed by He, said to them : I give you abundant fruits so that you can set aside tithes for me but you did not want to. (Now) I will give you something exempt from tithes.⁴

IF SOME SET ASIDE THE DOUGH OFFERING AND SOME DO NOT, FAMINE AS A RESULT OF SIEGE COMES UPON THE WORLD, as Scripture says : "When I break your staff of bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and shall deliver your bread again by weight ; and you shall eat and not be satisfied (Lev. 26:26)."⁵

IF [ALL] DETERMINE NOT TO SET ASIDE [THE DOUGH OFFERING] AT ALL, FAMINE RESULTING FROM TUMULT COMES,⁶ as Scripture says : You shall sow but not reap. You shall eat but not be satisfied. and there shall be hunger in your inward parts : you shall put away, but

¹ This chapter consists of these seven calamities and the four seasons when they are most likely. Many are connected with the commandments of the tithes and the soil.

See PA 5:8-9a and A Ch. 38, pp. 113-15 (G pp. 158-61) for this mishnah. See also Sifra 111d which mentions the existence of seven sins with seven corresponding punishments and Shab 32b-33a which lists nine. For the place of this section in the structure of ARNB, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 94-97.

² Haggai is recording God's rebuke to the people for not rebuilding the Temple. Their lack of zeal for this task is comparable to the failure to support the priests and Levites with tithes.

³ Lev. 26 concerns walking contrary to God's law in general. If one ate his or her own children, that would be the extremity of famine. See the stories in Sifra 112a and Josephus, *War*, VI, 193-213.

⁴ The "something" is the famine.

⁵ This verse occurs in a context where God is threatening his people with invasion and siege if they disobey his commandments.

⁶ The lacunae in this mishnah are filled in according to PA 5:8. Tumult and disorder resulting in destruction of food are reflected in the quote from Micah.

not save. ... (Mic. 6:15 and 14)" The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them : I give you abundant dough so that you can set aside the dough offering for me and you did not want to. Now I will give you something exempt from the dough offering.⁷

A VISITATION OF EVIL BEASTS COMES UPON THE WORLD FOR THE TAKING OF FALSE OATHS, THE GIVING OF FALSE WITNESS AND PROFANING THE NAME.⁸

p. 114 THE SWORD COMES UPON THE WORLD FOR THE PERVERSION OF JUSTICE AND FOR THE DELAY OF JUSTICE.⁹

A story is told of Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi Ishmael.¹⁰ When they were going out to be executed, Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel was crying. Rabbi Ishmael¹¹ said to him : Rabbi, why are you crying ? Won't you be at the side of your ancestors in a couple of more steps.

He replied : Did you imagine that I am crying because I shall not have a few more years ?¹²

Rabbi Ishmael said : Scripture says : "Sweet is the sleep of a laborer, whether he eats little or much (Qoh. 5:11)."

Rabbi Simeon said : Should I not cry when I am going out to execution like an idolator, like the unchaste, like shedders of blood, like Sabbath breakers.¹³

⁷ See note 4 above. Schechter adds in brackets a sentence found in the Menorat Ha-Maor (I, p. 53): "And what is it ? The flesh of your sons and daughters."

⁸ This mishnah is not treated in Version A. See PA 5:9 and B p. 116, l. 3 where much of this is repeated. See Sifra 111d and Shab 33a.

⁹ Both PA and A have in addition "and because of those that teach the Torah not in accordance with the Halakah." See Shab 33a, also.

¹⁰ See parallels in A p. 114 (G pp. 159-60); SedElRab Ch. 28 (p. 153); Mech to Ex. 22:22 (Lauterbach, III, pp. 141-42); Semahot 8:8 (Zlotnik, pp. 59-60). The latter two contain only the story of Simeon and Ishmael's dialogue with each other over the cause of their death, and not that over who is to be executed first.

Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 100-01 and *Akiba*, pp. 316-17) holds that Simeon is really Simeon ben Nethanel, one of the five major disciples of Johanan, and not Simeon ben Gamaliel. See Mechilta where Simeon occurs without any patronymic. The claims to be high priest or prince differ in A and B and are beset with textual difficulties; they may be secondary as Finkelstein says. In ARNA and Eliahu Rabbah the two cast lots to decide which dies first; in ARNA again and in B they argue who is greatest to decide who will die first. There seem to be two lines of thought here.

¹¹ See Schechter, p. 173. Mss R and P actually have "Rabbi Ishmael Simeon" here. The text is confused.

¹² I do not understand the word *qlmun*. I follow Schechter in note B who seems to understand it as translated here. But he does not explain the word.

¹³ See Sanh 7:4 for various sexual crimes and profaning of the Sabbath and execution by stoning and Sanh 9:1 for murderers.

Rabbi Ishmael said to him : Is it for no reason ? During your life did not a woman come to you to ask about her menstrual uncleanness or a man about his vow and you were sleeping or eating ; or perhaps that time was not free or perhaps the servant did not let him enter.

He replied : Whether I was sleeping or eating the servant was instructed not to prevent any man from entering.

He continued : And yet it was not without reason.¹⁴ Once I was sitting and people were standing around me [for judgement,] I swelled with pride.¹⁵

Rabbi Ishmael said : We deserve to go forth to execution.¹⁶

p. 115 The executioner¹⁷ came to chop off the head of Rabban Simeon. Rabbi Ishmael said to him : That's not right. I am greater than he. Come and chop off my head first.¹⁸ The executioner asked : In what are you greater than he ? He answered : I am a high priest, the son of a high priest. The executioner came to chop off Rabbi Ishmael's head.

Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel said to him : That is not right. I am greater than he.

The executioner asked : In what are you greater than he.

He answered : I am a prince, the son of a prince.¹⁹

The executioner came and chopped off the head of Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel. Rabbi Ishmael embraced and kissed it and wept, saying : This is the mouth which labored at Torah and now it is full of sand, as Scripture says : "He has made my teeth grind on gravel, and made me cower in ashes. ... (Lam. 3:16)."

The executioner came immediately and chopped off the head of

¹⁴ Ms. N inserts here "He said", thus making the previous statement that of Rabbi Ishmael. Schechter followed Ms. N in this.

¹⁵ For this text, see MhM, IV, p. 190 and Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 196. Schechter follows Ms. N and adds "'I".

¹⁶ In the matter of the good suffering and proportionate punishment for sin the Rabbis were guided by a number of ideas which existed in relation and contradiction to each other. See S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (Athenaeum, N.Y., 1970), 105-22, especially pp. 112-13; Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 304-10; Moore, II, pp. 248-56.

¹⁷ *'spqltur* is from the Greek *spekoulator*, meaning executioner (Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, pp. 92-93).

¹⁸ I follow Ms. P which is more clear and complete than either Ms. R or N. Rabbi Ishmael was of priestly stock. He was not *the* high priest, but perhaps high priest was a class of priests (see B ch. 7, p. 21 and n. 43).

¹⁹ Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel was of the house of Hillel and was the *Nasi* (prince) of Israel.

Rabbi Ishmael, in fulfillment of what Scripture says : "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who stands next to me, says the Lord of hosts (Zech. 13:7)."

EXILE COMES UPON THE WORLD FOR IDOLATRY, FOR UNCHASTITY, FOR BLOODSHED, FOR NEGLECT OF THE YEAR OF RELEASE OF THE LAND, AND FOR NEGLECT OF THE JUBILEE YEAR.²⁰

Where does Scripture teach that exile comes upon the world for idolatry? It says : "All the nations would say : 'Why has the Lord done thus to this land? What means the heat of this great anger?' Then men would say, 'It is because they foresook the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them out of the land of Egypt, and went and served other gods and worshipped them, gods whom they had not known and whom He had not allotted to them; therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, bringing upon it all the curses written in this book.' (Dt. 29:23-26)"

Where does Scripture teach that exile comes for unchastity? It says : "And the land became defiled, so that I punished its iniquity, and the land vomited out its inhabitants (Lev. 18:25)."

Where does Scripture teach that it comes for bloodshed? It says : "They poured out innocent blood, the blood of their sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan; and the land was polluted with blood (Ps. 106:38)."²¹

Where does Scripture teach that it comes for neglect of the year of release for the land? It says : "But the land shall be left by them and enjoy its sabbaths while it lies desolate without them. ... (Lev. 26:43)."

Where does Scripture teach that it comes for neglect of the Jubilee year? It says : "As long as it lies desolate it shall have rest, the rest which it had not in your sabbaths (Lev. 26:35)."²²

²⁰ PA 5:9 and ARNA lack "neglect of the Jubilee Years." Version A gives different proof texts but has generally the same meaning as B. See also NumRab 7:10 which is like Version A.

Idolatry, unchastity and bloodshed are the three "cardinal sins" of Judaism, often mentioned together (Moore, II, pp. 58 and 267). For the major sins which are often singled out, see A Ch. 40 (p. 120; G p. 163); Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 222-23. See Shab 33a for exile as punishment for the sins mentioned here.

²¹ See Ps. 106:40-46 where oppression and captivity are the punishments meted out to Israel for bloodshed.

²² This passage is similar to the one quoted immediately above. Both are used of the year of release (Sabbath year) in Version A; but to the author of this section of B

AT FOUR PERIODS PESTILENCE IS ON THE INCREASE : IN THE FOURTH YEAR, IN THE SEVENTH, AT THE DEPARTURE OF THE SEVENTH, AND ANNUALLY AT THE DEPARTURE OF THE FEAST—AS PUNISHMENT FOR NEGLECT OF (THE COMMANDMENTS CONCERNING) GLEANINGS, THE FORGOTTEN SHEAF AND THE PEAH; AND IN PUNISHMENT FOR ROBBING THE POOR OF THEIR GIFTS.²³

In punishment for neglect of Terumah and tithes, the heavens are closed and do not send down dew and rain and the land does not nurture fruits; people rush to get provisions and do not succeed.²⁴

p. 116 In punishment for neglect of the dough offering there is no blessing on what is stored, a curse is cast upon their fruits and others eat the fruits of their labor.²⁵

In punishment for the taking of false oaths, the giving of false witness and profaning the name a visitation of evil beasts comes upon the world, domestic animals are destroyed, population dwindles and the roads are desolate, as Scripture says : “And I will let loose the wild beasts among you, which shall rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle, and make you few in number, so that your ways shall become desolate (Lev. 26:22).”²⁶

In punishment for the neglect of Torah and for the perversion of justice the sword comes upon the world, booty is plentiful and people are handed over to the government.²⁷

In punishment for robbery locusts arise, prices are frequently high and people eat the flesh of their sons and daughters.²⁸

the two passage refer to two different kinds of Sabbath year, the seventh year and the fiftieth year.

²³ See PA 5:9b where the offenses common in each of the four seasons are detailed. Here only the final one is explained. Gleanings, the forgotten sheaf and the peah (Lev. 19:9-10 and Dt. 24:19) concern the harvest for they must be left in the field for the poor. Because people neglect this, they are punished yearly at the feast of booths which comes at the end of the harvest. These are called the gifts of the poor.

In the fourth and seventh years the people are punished for having neglected the tithe of the poor (Dt. 14:28-29) at the end of the third and sixth years. At the end of the seventh year people are punished for not having ceased from planting that year.

²⁴ See Lev. 26:19-20.

²⁵ See Lev. 26:26. See Shab 32b for the first part of the saying in the name of Eleazar ben Judah. *mkwnm* may refer to the residence as a whole, but probably better to the provisions stored there.

²⁶ See above, B p. 113 and note 8 above where a similar saying without commentary occurred.

²⁷ See above, B p. 114.

²⁸ See above, B p. 113 for the eating of sons and daughters as a punishment for

In punishment for neglect of the year of release for the land the inhabitants of the land are exiled from their place and others come from their own homeland and settle instead of them in their place.²⁹

In punishment for slander leprosy is visited upon men, as Scripture says: "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam (Dt. 24:9)." ³⁰ Cannot an inference be draw here? If Miriam the prophetess, whose intention was only the praise and glory of Moses, was punished severely, and it was no minor matter, how much the more shall it be exacted from one who speaks disgrace of his neighbor and does seek his misfortune.³¹

neglecting tithes. In Sanh 108a robbery is punished by the flood. See Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 227-29.

²⁹ See above, B p. 115.

³⁰ See Ch. 16, n. 7.

³¹ See ARNA pp. 39-40 (G pp. 54-55); SifreNum 99 (Horovitz, p. 98); Tan, *Mezora* 4; SifreDt 275 (Finkelstein, p. 294) and 1 (Finkelstein, p. 5); TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 46. ARNA, SifreNum and Tanhuma explain that Moses was neglecting his marital duty of procreation with Zipporah and so Miriam rebuked him.

CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

Rabbi Meir says : Three entered to be judged at the beginning of creation and four emerged condemned. Adam, Eve, and the serpent entered to be judged and the earth was cursed because of them, as Scripture says : "Cursed is the ground because of you (Gen. 3:17)."¹

That same Adam was created; on that day he was commanded; on that day he sinned; on that day he became mortal.² On that day he was formed; on that day he entered the Garden of Eden; on that day he was commanded; on that day he ate (of the forbidden fruit), as Scripture says : "For on that day of your eating of it you shall become mortal (Gen. 2:17)."³

In the first hour Adam was planned.⁴ In the second God consulted the ministering angels. In the third He kneaded him. In the fourth He shaped him. In the fifth He breathed a soul into him. In the sixth He stood him on his feet. In the seventh he introduced him into the Garden of Eden. In the eighth he was commanded. In the ninth he sinned. In the tenth he transgressed His commandment.⁵ In the eleventh God revealed Himself to him.⁶ In the twelfth he was expelled from the Garden of Eden.

¹ The whole chapter is a commentary on the four who were condemned, consisting mostly of four lists of ten curses. For the introductory sentence, see JerKel 1:7 (27b) and for something similar, see BerRab 5:9 (T-A, p. 38).

² Literally : "died". There is a sense in which Adam died on the first day—see note 11.

³ See Appendix 1 where the various accounts of what happened on the first day are worked out. These two short accounts begin with "on that day" as does the account in A p. 6 (G p. 13). The other accounts use the hours of the day. The first account here begins with Adam's creation as a whole; the second begins with his being formed, much like some of the other lists. The Scriptural verse quoted does not recount that Adam ate, but what will happen to him if he does.

⁴ For this whole paragraph and its many parallels, see B Ch. 1, p. 8, n. 52 and Appendix 1.

⁵ Ms. R reads "*šwrw*" (his rock). Read *šywyw* with B p. 8 and other versions of this list cited in Appendix 1. Only the two versions of this list cited in ARNB have both "he sinned" and "he disobeyed His commandment." See Schechter, note 3 (and also my Ch. 1, note 52) where he suggests that ascending into bed might have been the original text, The emendation seems unlikely; ARNB, for some reason, clings to both statements concerning Adam's sin in both of its versions of this list.

⁶ Version B reads : *nglh 'lyw*. All the other versions of the list have the statement that Adam was judged. The statement in B refers to Gen. 3:9-13 rather than to vv. 13ff. where God gives his judgment and curses.

Adam was lying as a soulless lump (stretching) from one end of the world to the other⁷. God made every generation with its judges pass before him along with every generation with its apostates, diviners, hardened criminals,⁸ and robbers. He was lying as a soulless lump and God made them pass before him like flocks of sheep.⁹ God showed him a just man with things going well for him, a just man with things going badly for him, a wicked man with things going well for him and a wicked man with things going badly for him.¹⁰

When the Holy One, blessed be He, showed Adam the just who were to be his descendents,¹¹ he gave him one of his own days, which is equivalent to a thousand years, as Scripture says : "For a thousand years in your sight are but as yesterday when it is past. ... (Ps. 90:4)." God withdrew seventy years from him and gave them to his children and grandchildren until the end of history, as Scripture says : "The years of our life are three score and ten." And so the life which Adam lived was nine hundred and thirty years.

TEN decrees were passed with regard to Adam, ten with regard to Eve, ten with regard to the serpent and ten with regard to the earth.¹²

⁷ See B Ch. 8, p. 22, nn. 10 and 11 for the parallels to this passage. The naming of the categories of people who passed in front of Adam is more full here than in other versions. This whole paragraph is placed here because it shows us the results of Adam's actions during his first day in the garden which have been just recounted.

⁸ ARNB reads : *mzydyw*. This is literally one who plans evil and so one who pre-meditates what he does.

⁹ This sentence seems to begin the subject of this paragraph again, and so it probably comes from another source. For the expression *bny mrwm*, see RH 1:2. According to Albeck it should be *bnwmrwn*, the Latin word *numerus*. The traditional commentaries interpret *bny mrwn* as flocks of sheep (see Bertinoro). The phrase could also mean "rebels". What the original form in ARNB was is not clear from context.

¹⁰ The same four categories are in Ch. 22 (p. 46). They do not occur elsewhere in connection with Adam's soulless lump.

¹¹ The theme of showing Adam the future links this paragraph with the previous one. However, the interpretation of one of God's days as a thousand years and the application of it to Adam solves a problem with Gen. 2:17 (see note 3 above). God says that Adam will die on the very day that he eats of the fruit. Since Adam died at an age of 930 years (Gen. 5:3-4), he did die on the same day he committed the sin (see NumRab 5:5; BerRab 19:8 [T-A, p. 178]; and PesRab 40:2 [Friedmann, 167a; Braude, p. 704]). Perhaps this paragraph at one time bore a more direct relation to Gen. 2:17 as quoted earlier in this chapter.

¹² For these four lists of ten see *Perek Adam Ha-Rishon* in Eisenstein, I, pp. 9-11. It occurs in two versions, the first of which is almost exactly the same as ARNB. See PRE 14 for the curses on Adam, Eve and the serpent; and see NumRab 5:5 for reference to the forty curses.

TEN decrees were passed with regard to Adam.¹³

The first was that he was clothed in precious garments, but the Holy One blessed be He stripped them off him.¹⁴

The second is that he must toil to live.

The third is that he eats good things but expels foul things.

The fourth is that his children wander from city to city.

The fifth is that he has a sweaty smell.¹⁵

The sixth is that he has the evil impulse.

p. 117 The seventh is that the worm and maggot will have power over him.¹⁶

The eighth is that he is given over to a wild beast to be killed by it.

The ninth is the brevity of life and abundance of trouble, as Scripture says : "Man that is born of woman is of few days and full of trouble (Job 14:1)."

The tenth is that man is destined to stand for judgment, as Scripture says : "Rejoice, O young man, in your youth, and let your heart cheer you in the days of your youth ; walk in the ways of your heart and the sight of your eyes. But know that for all these things God will bring you into judgement (Qoh. 11:9)."

TEN decrees were passed with regard to Eve.¹⁷

The first is menstruation, when she is driven from her house and banned from her husband.¹⁸

The second is that she gives birth after nine months.

The third is that she nurses for two years.¹⁹

¹³ See A p. 7 (G pp. 13-14) for three curses against Adam. The list of curses in PRE is different from that in B. For different sources which speak of curses, see *Legends*, I, p. 79; V, p. 102, n. 87.

¹⁴ See JerTarg I to Gen. 3:7 and Yalkut, I, 34.

¹⁵ See Ch. 34, p. 74. Mss. P and N have *ryh*. Ms. R has *ruh* and MhM *ruh r'h*.

¹⁶ See Ms. P (Schechter, p. 173) for the future tense.

¹⁷ See note 12 above. A p. 4 (G pp. 9-10) refers to ten curses of Eve, but gives only six. Erub 100b has ten curses, seven from Gen. 3:16 (see ARNA also) and then three additional ones. NumRab 10:2 says that there are seven curses; A p. 6 (G p. 14) has three curses. B Ch. 9 mentions a number of the curses and disadvantages associated with being a woman. See *Legends*, I, p. 78; V, pp. 101-02, nn. 85-86.

¹⁸ When a woman is having her menstrual period she may not have intercourse and can easily transmit Levitical uncleanness to things and people. For variations in the text, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 196-97.

¹⁹ For the confused texts of the second and third curses, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 196-97. Some Mss. set pregnancy at seven months; see NumRab 4:4 where the viability of a baby after seven months is recognized.

The fourth is that her husband rules over her.

The fifth is that he is jealous of her if she speaks with any other man.

The sixth is that she ages quickly.

The seventh is that she ceases to give birth while men never cease being able to beget children.

The eighth is that she stays in the house and does not show herself in public like a man.²⁰

The ninth is that when she goes out to the marketplace²¹ her head has to be covered like a mourner. That is why women precede the bier, saying : We have brought death upon all the inhabitants of the world.²²

The tenth is that if she was upright, her husband buries her. For we find that this was the case with our ancestors: our father Abraham buried Sarah our mother. Isaac buried Rebecca our mother. Jacob buried Rachel and Leah.²³

TEN decrees were passed with regard to the serpent.²⁴

The first is that his mouth was stopped up.

The second is that his hands and feet were cut off.

The third is that he eats dust.

The fourth is that he sheds his skin and is in pain like a woman giving birth.

The fifth is that "I will put enmity between you and the woman.... (Gen. 3:15)."

The sixth is that though he eats delicacies and drinks all sweet things they turn to dust in his mouth, as Scripture says : "And dust shall be the serpent's food (Is. 65:25)."

The seventh is that he begets only once in seven years.

The eighth is that when a man sees a domestic animal, he does not pay attention to it, but when he sees a serpent, he becomes angry and tries to kill it.

²⁰ See Ms. H and MhM, IV, p. 76 for this reading : *mtprsmt*, meaning "shows herself in public." This reading is accepted by Ginsberg in *Legends*, V, p. 101, n. 85. Ms. R (followed by Schechter) reads : *mtprns*, meaning "is a breadwinner."

²¹ For this reading, see Mss. H, P and N and Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 205-06.

²² These two items, the woman covering her hair and preceding the bier, occur in this order in Ch. 9 (p. 25). See note 8 there. Ms. R reads *grmnw*; correct the misprint in Schechter.

²³ See Genesis 23; 35:16-20; 49:31.

²⁴ For the marvelous properties of the serpent, which are taken away by these curses, see Ch. 1, note 39; *Legends*, I, p. 98; V, p. 213, n. 131.

The ninth is that all other creatures are subject to blessing, but he remains under his curse.²⁵

As for the tenth, Rabbi Meir used to say in regard to him, according to the prophetic tradition, "I will remove evil beasts from the land (Ez. 34:25)."²⁶

TEN decrees were passed with regard to the earth.²⁷

The first is that it used to drink waters out of its own resources, (but) henceforth : "But a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground. ... (Gen. 2:6)."²⁸

The second is that its fruits are blighted.

The third is that it is afflicted with blast and mildew.

The fourth is that stony ground and rough places²⁹ were created on the earth.

The fifth is that mountains and hills were created on the land.³⁰

The sixth is that barren trees grew on it.

The seventh is that thistles and thorns³¹ will grow on it.

The eighth is that much is sown and it produces little, as Scripture says : "You have sown much but harvested little (Hag. 1:6)."

The ninth is that it is destined to stand and give witness concerning its slain, as Scripture says : "And the earth will disclose the blood shed upon her, and will no more cover her slain (Is. 26:21)."³²

²⁵ See BerRab 20:5 (T-A, p. 186); 95:1 (T-A, pp. 1186-87); TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 47; Tan, *Mezora*, 2.

²⁶ See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 204. MhM, IV, p. 77 adds : "This refers to the serpent." This may be the original text.

²⁷ Perek Adam Ha-Rishon, Version B (see note 12), has only nine decrees, making a total of forty minus one. Several are similar to the ones in ARNB. Perek, Version A, is virtually identical to ARNB. In ARNB four of the decrees have Scriptural verses with them.

²⁸ BerRab 13:9 (T-A, p. 119) and QohRab 1:7 discuss how the earth was watered, first from below and then from above. According to BerRab one of the reasons God settled on rain was lawless men. The verse quoted here tells how the earth was first watered, not how it is now watered after the curse. The passage in ARNB does not really say how the earth is watered after the curse.

²⁹ I read *tršym* with Mss. P, MhM, N and Schechter's emendation and not *šršym* with Ms. R. Perek Adam Ha-Rishon, Version A, reads with Ms. P, etc. *qšqšym* means stubble and so can mean rough places (Aruch, VII, p. 221b, *qš*).

³⁰ Even though mountains and hills are pleasant to look at and hike through, they obstruct farming and travel, both of which are much easier on level ground.

³¹ Ms. R reads *hđryrym wgrnym*, which is translated here. Mss. H, N and Perek Adam Ha-Rishon read *hwhyn* (H: *qwšyn*) *wdrdryn*. Ms. P and MhM have further variants.

³² The earth's giving witness, in itself, does not seem to be a curse. Perhaps the curse

The tenth is that it is destined to wear out like a garment, as Scripture says : "The earth will wear out like a garment. ... (Is. 51:6)."

Why were these forty decrees passed? Corresponding to the forty days during which the embryo is formed. And in addition when man enters the judgement and is guilty, he is punished with forty (punishments) corresponding to these forty.³³

Adam was the blood of the world.³⁴ Because woman brought death upon him, she was put under obligation (to observe the law) of the blood of menstrual purity. Man was the dough offering of the world. Because she made him unclean, she was put under obligation (to observe the law) of the dough offering. Man was the light of the world. Because she caused him to be extinguished, she was put under obligation (to observe the lighting) of the (Sabbath) lamp. From this the Sages, blessed be their memory, said : For three offenses women die when they are giving birth : For carelessness in regard to menstrual purity, the dough offering and lighting the Sabbath lamp.

is in the fact that the earth had to swallow the slain. In *Mech to 15:12* (Lauterbach, II, pp. 67-68) the earth will not swallow the Egyptians until God promises not to hold it accountable.

³³ Here it assumed that the forty curses fall on mankind, rather than partly on the serpent and the earth. This comment must have been originally independent of what precedes.

³⁴ See Ch. 9 (p. 25) and the notes there for the material contained in the rest of this chapter. These punishments meted out to women are suggested by the ten judgments decreed against Eve earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER FORTY-THREE

p. 118 TEN people prophesied and did not know that they were prophesying.¹

Abraham prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : “Then Abraham said to his young men, ‘Stay here with the ass; I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and we will come again to you (Gen. 22:5).’” It does not say, “I will come again to you” but “we will come again to you.” He prophesied that Isaac our father would actually return.²

Laban prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : “And they blessed Rebekah, and said to her, ‘Our sister, be the mother of thousands of ten thousands : and may your descendants possess the gate of those who hate them!’ (Gen. 24:60).” Thus they were actually cursing themselves while blessing Rebecca their sister.³

Jacob prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : “May he send back your other brother and Benjamin (Gen. 43:14).” “Your brother” refers to Simeon; “other” refers to Joseph; “and Benjamin” refers literally to Benjamin.⁴

The tribes prophesied and did not know what they were prophesying as Scripture says : “Behold the youngest is this day with our father, and one is no more (Gen. 42:13).” They prophesied that Joseph was standing among them.⁵

Joseph prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : “For the best of all the land of Egypt is yours (Gen. 45:20).” He prophesied that they were destined to despoil Egypt.⁶

¹ The groups of ten continue from the last chapter through part of this chapter. This list occurs only here, but some of its entries occur elsewhere individually.

² See PesRab 40:6 (Friedmann, p. 170b; Braude, p. 716).

³ Rebekah’s brother and family send her away with a blessing that falls upon Israel. The blessing leaves Rebekah’s family, who are Arameans (Gen. 28:5), subjugated to Israel in later years under David.

⁴ Jacob thinks that Joseph is dead but the “superfluous” word “other” in his statement is a prophetic reference to Joseph who is indeed alive. BerRab 92:3 (T-A, p. 1140) interprets “other” as a reference to Joseph, too.

⁵ “And one is no more” (*wēhā’eḥād ’ēnennū*) is literally, in Hebrew, “And one is not (with our father),” that is, he is here in Egypt with us.

⁶ The Hebrew despoiling of Egypt refers to their taking of the Egyptian valuables before they left with Moses (Ex. 12:35-36).

Pharaoh prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : "They will fight against us and escape from the land (Ex. 1:10)." He prophesied that Israel was destined to make war with him and to go up to the land (of Israel) in peace.⁷

Job prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : "Shall we receive good at the hand of God and shall we not receive evil (Job 2:10)?" He prophesied that the Holy One, blessed be He, would again give good to him.

Our fathers⁸ prophesied and did not know what they were prophesying, as Scripture says : "You will bring them in, and plant them on your own mountain. ... (Ex. 15:17)." It does not say here, "You will bring us in, and plant us. ... " They said that the children will enter, but the fathers will not enter.

Gehazi prophesied and did not know what he was prophesying, as Scripture says : "Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the man of God, said, 'See, my master has spared this Naaman the Syrian, in not accepting from his hand what he brought. As the lord lives, I will run after him, and get something (*m'wmh*) from him' (2 Ki. 5:20)," that is, the blemish (*mwmh*) that he had.⁹ He prophesied that he would be clothed with leprosy.

Hannah prophesied and did not know what she was prophesying, as Scripture says : "As long as he lives, he is lent to the Lord (1 Sam. 1:28)."¹⁰ Hannah (really) said : As long as my son exists, the kingdom of Saul will exist. Scripture says in one place : "Now there died Samuel. ... (1 Sam. 25:1)" In another place it says: "And Samuel died.... (1 Sam. 28:3)." "Now there died Samuel. ... " refers to the death of Nabal.¹¹ "And Samuel died. ... " refers to the death of Samuel literally,

⁷ Literally this reads "to cause the land to go up to peace." (*lh'lw t lšlw m 't h'rš*). See Gen. 44:17 and 1 Sam. 25:35 for similar expressions. We would expect 'l or l before *h'rš*. The hiphil verb suggests that Pharaoh caused Israel's success.

⁸ I follow Mss. H and P. They , with Mech to Ex. 15:17 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 76-77) have "Our fathers" or "The fathers" as subject. This fits the plural subject of the sentence below, after the Scriptural quote. Ms. R. has "Moses" as the subject.

⁹ This is based on a pun on *m'wmh* and *mwmh*. "The blemish that he had" is Aramaic. See commentaries on Gen. 22:12 found in S. Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, pp. 8 and 46.

¹⁰ The word for "lent" and Saul are the same : *š'wl*.

¹¹ Appended to Hannah's prophecy about her son Samuel we are given two places where Scriptural seems to repeat itself. The explanation, also found in QohRab 7:1(4), is that Ch. 28 is where Samuel's death really takes place. In Ch. 25 it is merely mentioned in connection with the death of Nabal.

as Scripture says : "And all Israel assembled and mourned for him and they buried him in his city in Ramah (1 Sam. 25:1 ; 28:3)." Don't we already know that Ramah is his city? This means that all Israel mourned him everywhere just as they mourned him in his own city.¹²

p. 119 By TEN names is the earth called : Land (*'dmh*), Dry Land (*ybšh*), Dry Ground (*hrrbh*), World (*tbl*), Abode (*hld*), Ground (*'rq'*), Beginning (*r'syt*), Valley (*gy'*), Field (*śdh*), Earth (*'rṣ*).¹³

It is called Earth because it ran.¹⁴ A parable. To what may it be compared? To a king who called for his household¹⁵ and one of them ran and stood before him; so the king put him in charge. In the same way the Holy One, blessed be He, called to all the inhabitants of the world and Earth ran stood before him.

It is called Land because Adam was formed from it, as Scripture says : "Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground. ... (Gen. 2:7)."¹⁶

It is called Dry Land because its waters dried up the waters of the flood.¹⁷

It is called Dry Ground because its waters dried up the waters of the flood.¹⁸

It is called World because it is seasoned with the words of Torah,¹⁹

¹² 1 Sam. 25:1 has already told us that Samuel's home is in Ramah. Why then is it repeated in 28:3? Because Ramah specifies where Samuel was buried while the previous verb, "mourn," refers to all cities in Israel. However, the Mss. of ARNB do not include the word "mourn" from the Scriptural quote. (The key part of a verse is often not quoted by midrashim.)

¹³ MidProv 8:9 has the same ten names as B, all with explanations. ARNA p. 110 (G p. 154) and PRK, p. 344 each give different lists of seven names. BerRab 13:12 (T-A, p. 121) reports four names.

¹⁴ This interpretation grows out of a pun on the similarity between *'rṣ* (earth) and *rwṣ* (run). See BerRab 5:8 (T-A, p. 37) for the same line of interpretation.

¹⁵ *pmly'* is the Latin *familia*. See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 463. *Familia* includes servants and slaves as well as relatives.

¹⁶ *'dmh* (land) and *'dm* (Adam) are similar.

¹⁷ *ybšh* (dry land) is from the same root as *hwbyšw* (dried out). I do not know what the interpretation means. Exactly the same interpretation is repeated for the following name of the earth.

¹⁸ *hrrbh* (dry ground) is from the same root as *hḥrybw* (dried out).

¹⁹ See the references in note 13 and also SifreDt 37 (Finkelstein, p. 70) and Yalkut, II, 943. *tbl* seems to be connected with the root *ybl* from which comes *ybul*, the produce of the soil. Other versions say that *tbl* means that it is seasoned with its fruits. Schechter reads *hyh* in this sentence, but Ms. R clearly has *hy'*.

but the land of Israel does not lack anything, as Scripture says : "A land in which you will lack nothing (Dt. 8:9)."

It is called Abode because all the inhabitants of the world dig²⁰ in it, as Scripture says : Give ear, all inhabitants of the Abode. ... (Ps. 49:2)."

Where does Scripture call it Ground?²¹ It says : "Thus you shall say to them : 'The Gods who did not make the heavens and the Ground shall perish from the earth (Jer. 10:11).'"

Where does Scripture call it Beginning (*r'syt*)? It says : "In *r'syt* God created (Gen. 1:1)."²²

Where does Scripture call it Valley? It says : "They are driven out from the valley (Job 30:5)."²³

Where does Scripture call it Field? It says : "See, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field which the Lord has blessed (Gen. 27:27)!"

By means of TEN things was the world created.²⁴ By wisdom, knowledge, understanding, power, rebuke, judgment, generation, creation, loving-kindness, compassion.

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by wisdom? It says : "The Lord by wisdom founded the earth; by understanding he established the heavens (Prov. 3:19)."²⁵

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by knowledge? It says : "By his knowledge the deeps broke forth. ... (Prov. 3:20)."

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by power? It says : "It is he who made the earth by his power, who established the world by his wisdom. ... (Jer. 51:15)."

²⁰ *ḥld* is the root for both the Biblical Hebrew noun "abode" and the later verb "dig" See Ben Yehuda, III, pp. 1555-56 and Levy, II, p. 52.

²¹ The following four titles for the Earth are not grounded by a pun; only the Scriptural verse where they are used is given.

'rq' is an Aramaic word, from the only Aramaic verse in Jeremiah.

²² MidProv 8:9 notes that the earth is called Reshit because it was the first (*reshit*) of all things created.

²³ "Valley" in Hebrew is *gy'*, pronounced *gē*. Job 30:5 has *gw*, pronounced *gev* and usually translated "from the midst (of men)." The expression without the noun "men" is difficult and so the rabbis read it as a noun and connected it to *ge*, the word for valley.

²⁴ See A p. 110 (G p. 153) for seven things and Hag 12a for a slightly different list of ten. See *Legends*, V, p. 7, n. 15.

²⁵ No separate paragraph is given for "understanding" (*tbwnh*) but in Prov. 3:19b God is said to have founded the heavens by understanding. So, understanding is implicitly validated by this verse.

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by rebuke? It says: "The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astounded at his rebuke (Job. 26:11)."

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by judgment? It says: "In the beginneing God created the heavens and the earth (Gen. 1:1)."²⁶

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by generation? It says: "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth. ... (Gen. 2:4))."

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by creation? It says: "When they were created (Gen. 2:4)."

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by loving-kindness? It says: "For I said that loving-kindness will build the world. ... (Ps. 89:3)."

Where does Scripture teach that the world was created by compassion? It says: "But with great compassion I will gather you (Is. 54:7)."²⁷

There are two things which continue for five hundred years.²⁸ The rivers continue for five hundred years. The scholars' academy continues for five hundred years. The roots of all of these dwell by the tree of life²⁹ as Scripture says: "[The man whose delight is in the

²⁶ Schechter (note 16) suggests that the use of the name God (*'lhym*) suggests God's justice, that is, judgment (*dyn*). See Ch. 38 (pp. 100-01) with note 25 and also BerRab 14:1 (T-A, p. 126) and 12:15 (T-A, pp. 112-13).

²⁷ Is. 54:5 refers to God as Creator and God of the Earth. Then this verse refers to his compassion.

²⁸ From here on Chapter 43 contains lists of differing lengths, from eighteen items to two. Few of the lists have parallels in ARNA. This paragraph before us is located between a paragraph about creation and one concerning the structure of the universe. Perhaps it was put here because it concerns very stable things (500 years), like creation and the universe.

²⁹ This paragraph has three references which are probably to Babylonia. The rivers probably are the Tigris and Euphrates found in Mesopotamia; the most famous academies flourished in Babylonia; the tree of life in the Garden of Eden was thought to have grown in Mesopotamia near the rivers.

The rivers (*nhrwt*) could also be canals, for which Mesopotamia was famous. They were very large, vital to life, needed constant repair and existed from the third millenium, C.E. But in view of the mention of the tree of life, perhaps the rivers are really meant.

The academies flourished from A.D. 300 to c. 1000, after Saadia Gaon. Their sister academies in Palestine were not so famous and lessened in influence during the fifth century due to pressure on the Jewish community. *yšybh* might possibly refer to any meeting of scholars or to the synagogue where study was done.

Why is the period 500 years chosen here? It seems to be a long, fixed period, rather

law of the Lord] is like a tree planted by streams of water. ... (Ps. 1:3)."³⁰

p. 120 There are SEVEN things superior one to one another.³¹

The firmament is superior to the earth.

The stars are superior to the firmament because the stars come and go and the firmament does not move from its place. Some say : Also the firmament moves like a wheel above.

The trees are superior to the stars for the trees produce fruits and the stars do not.

The winds are superior to the trees because they blow constantly but the trees do not move their place.

The animals are superior to the winds because they eat and drink, but the winds do not.

Men are superior to the animals because they have intelligence and engage in business.³²

The ministering angels are superior to men because men eat and drink, increase and multiply, sleep and die, while the ministering angels do not eat and drink, nor increase and multiply, nor sleep and die.

The Holy One, blessed be He, will give SEVEN rich gifts to the just in the age to come. They are : strength, beauty, wealth, wisdom, sons, length of days, and rest of spirit.³³

Where does Scripture teach that He will give them strength? It

than an estimate of real time. Both the rivers and canals existed for more than 500 years. And why would a scholar limit the academies to a life of 500 years? The word "continue" (*mhilk*) could also refer to the time it takes to travel the river. BerRab 15:6 (T-A, p. 138) uses the same expression of the tree of life. Perhaps some scholar is trying to connect the life of the academies with the stable and long life of the rivers.

The paragraph shows a strong admiration for the academy. The passage does not definitely concern Babylonia, but rivers, trees and academies fit Babylonia most easily.

³⁰ This verse is connected to the academies (study of the law,) the rivers and the three of life mentioned above.

³¹ See the same seven listed in A p. 109 (G p. 152) but with different verbal patterns. See BerRab 5:9 (T-A, p. 38). The criteria for superiority are not consistently applied; they included mobility, productivity, and reason.

³² See Ms. P (Schechter, p. 173) for this reading.

³³ A similar list of seven gifts which are comely for the just and for world are given in TosSanh 11:8 (p. 432); JerSanh 11:3; Abot 6:8 (where eight are listed); SedElZutta, Ch. 17 (Friedmann, p. 19); Kallah, Ch. 8. These gifts are proper for this world, according to these sources. See, however, note 38 below which confirms Version B's location of these gifts in the age to come. The proof verses given in TosSanh, etc., are all different from those in ARNB. For an interpretation of this passage as a conservative view, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 102.

says : "But they who wait for the Lord will renew their strength (Is. 40:31)."

Where does Scripture teach that He will give them beauty? It says : "They gleam like torches, they dart like lightning (Nah. 2 :5)." ³⁴ Just as lightning races from one end of the world to the other and returns in no time, so each person of Israel will go up to Jerusalem to make offerings and return in no time. ³⁵

Where does Scripture teach that He will give them wealth? It says : "And the weakest among them on that day shall be like David. ... (Zech. 12:8)." ³⁶

Where does Scripture teach that he will give them wisdom? It says : "All your sons shall be taught by the Lord, and great shall be the prosperity of your sons (Is. 54:13)." What does Scripture teach with "And great" (*wrb*)? It teaches that He is our Rabbi and our Teacher. ³⁷

Where does Scripture teach that he will give them sons? It says : "The least one shall become a clan and the smallest one a mighty nation (Is. 60:22)."

Where does Scripture teach that he will give them length of days? It says : "And they shall not build and another inhabit. ... (Is. 65:22)."

Where does Scripture teach that He will give them rest of spirit?

³⁴ The word for "beauty" (*nwy*) does not occur in the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides beauty it means "ornament". The Scriptural verse chosen connects *nwy* with flashes of light and speed, but the relationship is not precisely clear.

The verse, Nahum 2:5, is used to describe one of the seven types of joy found on the faces of the just in the world to come—SifreDt 10 (Finkelstein, p. 18); 47 (Finkelstein, p. 105); LevRab 30:2 (Margulies, pp. 692-93); MidPs 11:6 (Braude, I p. 164). See also LevRab 19:3 (Margulies, p. 423) and SongRab 5:11 (5) where Nah. 2:5 is referred to scholars. The general direction of the interpretation is clear, but it is not worked out in detail.

³⁵ This idea does not occur elsewhere as an interpretation of Nah. 2:5; nor does it relate to the matter at hand here. It may reflect the commentator's confusion about the relation of the term "beauty" and Nah. 2:5 See PesRab 1:3 (Friedmann, 2a; Braude, p. 40) for the carrying of the people to Jerusalem on clouds for morning and evening prayer.

³⁶ Song Rabbah 7:6 says : "The Holy One, blessed be He, said : The poor and needy who are in Israel are loved by me like David, as Scripture says : 'And the weakest among them on that day shall be like David...' (Zech. 12:8)." This idea is probably the basis of the interpretation here (Schechter, n. 22).

³⁷ "Great" is the Hebrew *rb* which also means "Rabbi" or "Teacher". Ms. R reads *mrbn wmlbn*; Mss. G-2 and P have *mrbn wmlpn*. Schechter's emendation to *rbn wmlpn* seems correct.

It says : "My people will abide in a peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings, and in quiet resting places (Is. 32:18)."

There are THREE companies of the just.³⁸

One sees the king and sees his face, as Scripture says : "Surely the righteous shall give thanks to your name; and they shall sit directly (before) your face (Ps. 140:14)."

One sees the king but does not see his face, as Scripture says : "Yet your Teacher will not hide himself anymore, but your eyes shall see your Teacher (Is. 30:20)."

And one sees neither his face nor the king himself, as Scripture says : "And your ears shall hear a word behind you. ... (Is. 30:21)."

Some see in a dream; some see in a vision; some see in an appearance.³⁹ When Scripture says : "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And further it says :⁴⁰ "Even upon the men servants and maid servants in those days, I will pour out my spirit (Joel 3:1-2)." This is to include men, animals and birds. I might interpret it to mean men only. But when Scripture says : "Every" it is to include everything.

p. 121 The following EIGHTEEN were called servants.⁴¹

³⁸ The previous list discussed the gifts to be given to the just in the age to come. The just are now said to be divided into three companies with different access to the king (God). See MidPs 11:6 (Braude, I, pp. 165-66) where the just are divided into seven companies, somewhat similar to these. Both the previous paragraph and MidPs indicate that the three groups pertain to the age to come, but the text itself could also refer to this life. Schechter refers to the Merkabah mysticism in his references in note 25. See the next note for further elucidation of this.

³⁹ This sentence may be an answer to the problem of the previous paragraph : when and how do men see the king. The compiler may be suggesting three modes of contact that living men have with the divine. The following verse from Joel, however, refers to the end of this world. It contains the three terms (dreams, visions, and the verb "see" which is the same root (*r'h*) as "appearance".) See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 102, who takes this paragraph as referring to the future life. The anthropomorphising of God is a reflection of a conservative view.

⁴⁰ The continuation of the quote from Joel is a digression and not directly pertinent to the previous material. See Schechter, note 26, for the difficulties here. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 209) thinks that the whole passage is a corrupt addition..

For unusual attributes attributed to animals, see V. Aptowitzer, "The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Objects : On the Aggadic View of the World," *HUCA* 3 (1926), 117-55, esp. p. 130, n. 27a.

⁴¹ The rest of this chapter is occupied with lists of people called by different titles

Abraham was called servant, as Scripture says : "And I will multiply your descendants for my servant Abraham's sake (Gen. 26:24)."

Jacob was called servant, as Scripture says : "Fear not, O Jacob my servant. ... (Is. 44:2)."

The people of Israel were called servants, as Scripture says : "For to me the people of Israel are servants. ... (Lev. 25:55)."

The Messiah was called servant as Scripture says : "Behold my servant, whom I uphold. ... (Is. 42:1)."⁴²

Angels were called servants, as Scripture says : "Even in his servants he puts no trust, and his angels he charges with error (Job 4:18)."

Moses was called his servant, as Scripture says : "Not so with my servant Moses. ... (Num. 12:7)."

Joshua was called servant, as Scripture says : "After these things Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died. ... (Jos. 24:29)."

Caleb was called servant. Where? Scripture says : "But my servant Caleb, because he has a different spirit and has followed me fully, I will bring into the land. ... (Num. 14:24)."

David was called servant, as Scripture says : "My servant David shall be prince over them forever (Ez. 37:24)."

Isaiah was called servant, as Scripture says : "The Lord said : 'As my servant Isaiah has walked naked and barefoot for three years. ...' (Is. 20:3)."

Eliakim was called servant, as Scripture says : "In that day I will call my servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah (Is. 22:20)."

Job was called servant, as Scripture says : "Have you considered my servant Job. ... (Job 2:3)."

Daniel was called servant, as Scripture says : "O Daniel, servant of the living God. ... (Dan. 6:21)."

Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah were called servants, as Scripture

or characterized by different qualities.

Mss. R, P, and H introduce the list with no number given at the beginning. Ms. G-2 has the number sixteen and then omits two entries. It omits Eliakim's name but puts his proof verse with Isaiah's name and omits Isaiah's proof verse. It also omits Zerubbabel at the end of the list in what seems to be a confused passage. Version N has the number eighteen. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 201) thinks that Ms. G-2 is original, but it seems to me to be a confusion of the original list of eighteen.

SifreDt 27 (Finkelstein, pp. 42-43) and MidPs 18:4 (Braude, I, pp. 231-32) have some of those called servants, but not in a list of eighteen. And these two sources are distinguishing between those who were called servants by God and who called themselves servants.

⁴² Note that the "Servant Song" is here connected with the Messiah.

says : "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, servants of the Most High God, come forth. ... (Dan. 3:26)."

Nebuchadnezzar was called servant, but he was not worthy of it, as Scripture says : "Behold, I will send...for Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, my servant. ... (Jer. 25:9)."

Zerubbabel was called servant, as Scripture says : "On that day, says the Lord of hosts, I will take you, O Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, my servant. ... (Hag. 2:23)."

The following TWELVE were called chosen.⁴³

Abraham was called chosen. Where does Scripture teach this? It says : "You are the Lord, the God who chose Abraham (Neh. 9:7)."

Jacob was called chosen, as Scripture says : "Jacob ,whom I have chosen. ... (Is. 41:8)."

Israel was called chosen, as Scripture says : "Jeshurun whom I have chosen (Is. 44:2)."⁴⁴

Saul was called chosen ; "at Gibeah of Saul, the chosen of the Lord (2 Sam. 21:6)."

The tribe of Levi was called chosen, as Scripture says : "And I chose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest. ... (1 Sam. 2:28)."

Moses was called chosen, as Scripture says : "Had not Moses, his chosen one, stood in the breach before him. ... (Ps. 106:23)."

The Messiah was called chosen, as Scripture says : "My chosen in whom my soul delights (Is. 42:1)."⁴⁵

Joshua was called chosen, as Scripture says : "And Joshua the son of Nun, the minister of Moses, one of his chosen men, said. ... (Num. 11:28)."

Judah was called chosen, as Scripture says : "For he chose Judah as leader. ... (I Ch. 28:4)."

David was called chosen, as Scripture says : "He chose David his servant. ... (Ps. 78:70)."

Solomon was called chosen, as Scripture says : "He has chosen Solomon my son. ... (1 Chron. 28:4)."

⁴³ Either the verb or noun from *bḥr* is used to substantiate the claim of being chosen. Mss. G-2 and H have a slightly different group : Abraham, Jacob, Israel, Messiah, Moses, Joshua, Saul, the Tribe of Levi, the Tribe of Judah, David, Solomon, and Jerusalem. Ms. P has a different order of elements. Ms. N skips Saul and has only eleven entries.

⁴⁴ Jeshurun is a poetic name for Israel.

⁴⁵ See Note 42 above where this verse was previously used of the Messiah.

Jerusalem was called chosen, as Scripture says : "... Jerusalem, the city which the Lord had chosen. ... (1 Ki. 14:21)."

The following six were called beloved.⁴⁶

The Holy One, blessed be He, was called beloved, as Scripture says : "Let me sing for my beloved a love song (Is. 5:1)."

Abraham was called beloved, as Scripture says : "What right has my beloved in my house (Jer. 11:15)?"

Israel was called beloved, as Scripture says : "I have given the beloved of my soul into the hands of her enemies (Jer. 12:7)."

Benjamin was called beloved, as Scripture says , "Of Benjamin he said : 'The beloved of the Lord. ...' (Dt. 33:12)."

Solomon was called beloved, as Scripture says : "So he called his name Jedidiah (Beloved of the Lord). ... (2 Sam. 12:25)."

Jerusalem was called beloved, as Scripture says : "How beloved are your dwelling places (Ps. 84:2)."⁴⁷

Let a beloved one,⁴⁸ the son of a beloved one, come and build a house for a beloved one in the territory of a beloved one. Let Israel who is called beloved come and build the temple which is called beloved within the boundaries of Benjamin who is called beloved.

The following FIVE were called loved ones.⁴⁹

Abraham was called loved one, as Scripture says : "The offspring of Abraham my loved one (Is. 41:8)."

Jacob was called loved one, as Scripture says : "Yet I have loved Jacob (Mal. 1:2)."

Israel was called loved one, as Scripture says : " 'I have loved you.' says the Lord (Mal. 1:2)."

⁴⁶ See SifreDt 352 (Finkelstein, p. 409); MidPs 84:1 (Braude, II, p. 64); Yalkut, I, 955.

⁴⁷ In the summary paragraph below and in the other sources the Temple, not Jerusalem, is the beloved. Jerusalem and the Temple were so closely connected that they were probably easily interchanged.

⁴⁸ See Men 53a and SifreDt and MidPs as referred to above for this summary paragraph. This pattern occurs elsewhere and is a poetic form. See Aaron Mirsky, "The Origins of the Forms of Liturgical Poetry," in *Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 46-48 who studies this form. Note that six who are beloved are listed. But the first sentence of this paragraph has only four of them and the second identifies only three. Men 53a gets all six into the summary paragraph. So the form may be defective here.

⁴⁹ Ms. R lacks the word five, but Mss. G-2, H, P, and N have it. "Loved" one ('*hwb*) and love ('*hb*) are from the same root. This list does not occur elsewhere and was probably suggested by the previous list.

Solomon was called loved one, as Scripture says : "And he was loved by his God. ... (Neh. 13:26)."

The gates of Jerusalem were called loved ones, as Scripture says : "The Lord loves the gates of Zion (Ps. 87:2)."

FOUR were called fire.⁵⁰

The Holy One, blessed be He, was called fire, as Scripture says : "For the Lord your God is a devouring fire. ... (Dt. 4:24)."

The Torah was called fire, as Scripture says : "From his right hand the fire of Torah (goes forth) to them (Dt. 33:2)."⁵¹

Israel was called fire, as Scripture says : "The house of Jacob shall be a fire. ... (Ob. 1:18)."

The world to come was called fire, as Scripture says : "Who among us can dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us can dwell with everlasting burnings (Is. 33:14)?"

There are FOUR banners⁵² at the throne glory : righteousness and justice, loving-kindness and faithfulness, as Scripture says : "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of your throne; loving-kindness and faithfulness go before you (Ps. 89:15)."

TWELVE were called living.⁵³

The Holy One, blessed be He, was called living, as Scripture says : "He is the God of life and the everlasting King. ... (Jer. 10:10)."

The Torah was called living, as Scripture says : "She is a tree of life to those who lay hold of her (Prov. 3:18)."⁵⁴

Israel was called living, as Scripture says : "But you who held fast to the Lord your God are all alive this day (Dt. 4:4)."

⁵⁰ We have moved from a group of six to one of five and now to two groups of four. Then we return to a group of twelve and descend again.

⁵¹ For the Torah as fire, see SifreDt 343 (Finkelstein, p. 399) and the parallels cited there.

⁵² Mss. H and P and N have four legs (*rglym*) to the throne of glory instead of Ms. R's four banners (*dglym*). The interchange of resh and dalet is easily made. Both words have good support in the tradition. A p. 110 (G pp. 153-54) records seven qualities or virtues which minister before God's throne. MidPs 89:2 (Braude, II, p. 82) has loving-kindness propping up one of the legs of God's throne. On the other hand, PesRab 46:3 (Friedmann, p. 188a; Braude, p. 792) and NumRab 2:10 speak of the four winds, the four angels around God's throne and the four divisions of the tribes of Israel in Num. 2, where each has its own banner. SifreDt 313 (Finkelstein, p. 356) speaks of three banners being borne from each of the four directions by the tribes of Israel.

⁵³ See A p. 103 (G pp. 142-43) which has a list of ten with several differences.

⁵⁴ See SifreDt 48 (Finkelstein, p. 110) and 343 (Finkelstein, p. 399).

p. 122 The land of Israel was called living, as Scripture says : "For I spread terror in the land of life."⁵⁵

The teaching of a sage was called living, as Scripture says : "The teaching of a sage is a fountain of life. ... (Prov. 13:14)."

The mouth of a just man was called living, as Scripture says : "The mouth of a just man is a fountain of life (Prov. 10:11)."

Loving-kindness was called living, as Scripture says : "Because your loving-kindness is better than life (Ps. 63:4)."

The world to come was called living, as Scripture says : "I walk before the Lord in the lands of life. ... (Ps. 116:9)."

The Garden of Eden was called living, as Scripture says : "And the tree of life was in the midst of the garden (Gen. 2:9)."

Water was called living, as Scripture says : "On that day waters of life shall flow out from Jerusalem. ... (Zech. 14:8)."⁵⁶

Jerusalem was called living, as Scripture says : "... everyone who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem (Is. 4:3)."

Blessing was called living, as Scripture says : "For there the Lord has commanded the blessing, life forever more (Ps. 133:3)."

The following six were called full.⁵⁷

The Holy One, blessed be He, was called full, as Scripture says : "Do I not fill heaven and earth? says the Lord (Jer. 23:24)."

Joshua was called full, as Scripture says : "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom. ... (Dt. 34:9)."

Caleb was called full, as Scripture says : "But my servant Caleb, because he has a different spirit and has followed me fully. ... (Num. 14:24)."

Bezalel was called full, as Scripture says : "And he has filled him with the spirit of God. ... (Ex. 35:31)."

Oholiab was called full, as Scripture says : "He has filled them with ability. ... (Ex. 35:35)."

Hiram was called full, as Scripture says : "...full of wisdom and perfect in beauty (Ez. 28:12)."

⁵⁵ This quote is almost Ez. 32:24 (and also 23), but the subject of the verb is changed from "they" to "I". Probably a scribe wrote from memory. For the land of Israel as land of the living, see Ch. 25, n. 22.

⁵⁶ See SifreDt 48 (Finkelstein, p. 110), and parallels there.

⁵⁷ The Hebrew word *ml* can mean both "to fill" and "full". The word was used in connection with each of the six. This is a list of six, following a list of twelve and followed by groups of four and three.

The following FOUR were told to ask.⁵⁸

Abraham was told to ask, as Scripture says : "O Lord God, what will you give me. ... (Gen. 15:2)." A man does not say, "What will you give me" unless he has been told to ask.

Solomon was to ask, as Scripture says : "And God said, 'Ask what I shall give you' (1 Ki 3:5)."

Ahaz was told to ask, as Scripture says : "Ask a sign of the Lord your God. ... (Is. 7:11)."

The Messiah was told to ask, as Scripture says : "Ask of me and I will make the nations your heritage. ... (Ps. 2:8)."

"In a good old age" was said of FOUR.⁵⁹

"In a good old age" was said of Abraham, as Scripture says : "You shall be buried in a good old age (Gen. 15:15)."

"In a good old age" was said of Gideon son of Joash, as Scripture says : "Gideon the son of Joash died in a good old age. ... (Jug. 8:32)."

"In a good old age" was said of David, as Scripture says : "Then he died in a good old age...full of days. ... (1 Ch. 29:28)."

"In a good old age" was said of Zedekiah, as Scripture says : "You shall die in peace. And as spices were burned for your fathers, the former kings who were before you, so men shall burn spices for you and lament for you. ... (Jer. 34:5)."⁶⁰

The following FOUR were called Cushites.⁶¹

Israel was called a Cushite, as Scripture says : "Are you not like the Cushites to me. ... (Amos 9:7)."

Zipporah was called a Cushite, as Scripture says : "Miriam and

⁵⁸ MidPs 2:10 (Braude, I, p. 42), like Ms. R, has only three who were told to ask: Solomon, Ahaz, and the Messiah. It does not infer that Abraham was told to ask.

⁵⁹ Ms. R reads four, not three. See correction on p. 174. Mss. P and N have four. BerRab 44:20 (T-A, p. 442) only lists three, Abraham, David, and Gideon. See the next note, as well, for difficulties associated with the fourth entry in the list. The list may have originally contained three.

⁶⁰ The quote supporting Zedekiah dying "in a good old age" does not contain that specific term, though the idea is there. This, plus the absence of Zedekiah in BerRab, argue that Zedekiah has been added to the list.

⁶¹ Ms. R has four, not three as read by Schechter. Mss. P and N also have four. MidPs 7:14 (Braude, I, pp. 112-13) only mentions three, omitting Ebedmelech. SifreNum 99 (Horvitz, pp. 98-99), PesRab 26:5 (Fiedmann 130b; Braude, p. 532), MidPs 7:18 (Braude, I, pp. 117-18) and MoedKat 16b have four.

None of the four mentioned is really a Cushite (Ethiopian; African), except perhaps Ebedmelech. The conclusion drawn from the gentile Cushite is that just as a Cushite has a different colored skin, so the people called Cushite were different (outstanding) in some way.

Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married. ... (Num. 12:1)."⁶²

Saul was called a Cushite, as Scripture says : "A Shaggaion of David, which he sang to the Lord concerning Cush a Benjaminite (Ps. 7:1)."⁶³

Ebed-melech was called a Cushite, as Scripture says : "When Ebed-melech the Cushite a eunuch, who was in the king's house heard. ... (Jer. 38:7)." You do not know whether the Ebed (servant) or the Melech (king) was called a Cushite. Say, however, that Ebed (servant) was called a Cushite and the king was not called a Cushite.⁶⁴ Similarly Scripture says : "... into the chamber of the sons of Hanan the son of Igdaliah, the man of God. ... (Jer. 35:4)." You do not know whether Hanan or Gedaliah was called man of God. Say, however, that Hanan was called man of God. Why was he called Igdaliah ? Because Scripture magnified him.⁶⁵

The lion is called by SEVEN names :⁶⁶ Aryeh (*'ryh*), Ari (*'ry*), Kefir (*kpyr*), Labi (*lby'*), Laish (*lyš*), Shalal (*šhl*), Shahatz (*šḥš*).

Aryeh in his youth;⁶⁷

Ari in his old age;⁶⁸

Kefir because he rejects his father and mother.⁶⁹

Labi because he seizes the heart of creatures when he roars.⁷⁰

Laish because in his mouth everything is turned into a kind of dough.⁷¹

⁶² See Ex. 2:21 where Moses marries Zipporah, the Midianite.

⁶³ Saul was a Benjaminite and so is identified with this verse. In Ps. 7:1 Cush seems to be a proper name rather than a gentilic.

⁶⁴ The identity of Ebedmelech is a problem for the interpreters. SifreNum says that he really is Baruch. MidPs 7:18 and MoedKat separate Ebed and Melech, as does ARNB; but MidPs and MoedKat identify Melech with Zedekiah, the deposed king of Judah.

⁶⁵ "Igdaliah" and "magnify" have the same root, *gd*.

⁶⁶ See A p. 119 (G p. 163) where only six are listed. The word for lion (*'aryēh*) in the introductory sentence in A is not included in the list itself.

⁶⁷ Jug. 14:8. This is the most common word for lion. Why it refers to a young lion specifically is not clear.

⁶⁸ Num 23:24 I do not see why it refers especially to an old lion.

⁶⁹ Jug. 14:6 "Kefir" and "atone, reject, ignore, deny" both come from the same root, *kpr*.

⁷⁰ Gen. 49:9. *lby'* and the word for heart (*lb*) are similar. "Seize" seems to have the sense of frighten. Ben Yehuda, II, p. 1512, illustrates its meaning as *sudden* death or a *quick* movement.

⁷¹ Is. 30:6. *lyš* (Laish) is similar to *lwš*, to knead (dough).

Shahal because every one turns white (with fear) before him.⁷²

Shahatz because he is proud.⁷³ Another interpretation. Shahatz because he tears with his mouth.

The poor (man) is called by SEVEN names : poor ('ny), needy ('bywn), poor man (mskn), lowly (mk), sparse (dl), crushed (dk), dispossessed (rš).⁷⁴

Poor, literally.

Needy because he desires everything;⁷⁵ he sees one thing, but cannot eat (it); another thing, but cannot drink (it).

Poor man because his life is in danger.⁷⁶

Lowly because he is as lowly as the threshold.⁷⁷

Crushed because they are crushed.

Sparse because his possessions are sparse.

Dispossessed because he is trampled upon. Another interpretation. Dispossessed because it (poverty) comes to him by inheritance.⁷⁸

The serpent is called by SEVEN names : serpent (nāḥāš), poisonous snake (peten), viper (ʿefʿeh), fiery snake (šārāf), poisonous serpent (šifʿônî), dragon (tannîn), horned snake (šēfifôn).⁷⁹

Serpent because his bite is like bronze.⁸⁰

⁷² Ps. 91:13. Shahal comes from the root *šhl* which means to turn white.

⁷³ Job 18:8. Shahatz comes from the root *šḥṣ* which means "proud" in the Hithpael and "tear" in the Qal. The text has "because the all (*ḥkl*) is proud." I read "he" (*hw*) with Jastrow, p. 1550a.

⁷⁴ MidTan, p. 81 and LevRab 34:6 (Margulies, pp. 782-83) have the same seven names for the poor. MhM IV, p. 487 has a total of seven names, with two of them different.

⁷⁵ 'bywn (needy) and *mi'wh* (desire) are pronounced similarly, in that the *b* in 'bywn is pronounced like *w*.

⁷⁶ *mskn* (poor man) is similar to *mswkn* (be in danger). LevRab gives this explanation for *dk* (crushed) : "He sees something, but does not eat; he sees something, but does not drink."

⁷⁷ 'sqwph is the Greek *skopos* which means a watchman or the mark on which a watcher fixes his eye. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 96, gives as the meaning of the word "boundary, objective, edge". Jastrow, p. 97, gives as its meaning the yard of a ship or threshold. MidTan, p. 81 has : "Because he is before everyone like the lowest threshold." Cf. The Akkadian *askuppātu*, meaning threshold, which is found as a loan word in Aramaic, especially Mandaic.

⁷⁸ *rš* (dispossessed) is similar to *mtrwšš* (trampled upon) and *yrušh* (inheritance). *yrušh* in Schechter is a printing error.

⁷⁹ See A p. 119 (G p. 163) where only six names and no explanations are given. The first item on the list, *naḥāš*, is elided through haplography, as it is in Version A.

⁸⁰ Ms. R has *nḥš* which means both snake and omen. But I follow Mss. P, H and N which read "bronze" (*nḥwšh*), probably influenced by Num. 21:9 and the bronze serpent. The exact meaning is unclear. *nḥš* is the most common word for snake in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Poisonous snake because every living thing which it bites cries out before him.⁸¹

Fiery snake because it burns up the blood of anyone it bites and dries up his flesh.⁸²

Poisonous serpent because it causes the one whom it has bitten to lose his hair; and his flesh melts away.⁸³

Dragon because everyone whom it bites twists (violently).⁸⁴

Horned snake because everyone whom it bites strips bare his loins.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Ps. 91:13; Is. 11:8. The reason for the interpretation of this name is unclear.

⁸² Num. 21:8. The root *šrp* means burn, be fiery. For this kind of interpretation, see Tan, *Huqqat*, 19.

⁸³ Is. 11:8. N and Ms. G-2 read *mtmwff* (sink) rather than *mtmwss* (turn white) and Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 201-02) accepts this as the original text.

⁸⁴ Ps. 91:13. The root *tnn* in Aramaic means "smoke, steam." The Hebrew interpretation is *mtph*, meaning "be changed, turn oneself around."

⁸⁵ Gen. 49:17. Mss. R, P, and H read *hwšp* (strip bare. N and Ms. G-2 read : Horned snake because it breathes upon (*šp*) his loins. This second word is closer to *špypwn* (horned snake) and the sentence in N and Ms. G-2 is clearer. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, p. 202) says this second choice is original.

CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR

p. 123 Isi ben Judah says : FIVE expressions in the Torah need their syntactical construction clarified.¹ Does "You will be accepted" *še'et*) go with "If you do well" or does it go with "If you do not do well." Scripture does not say the latter. Rather it should read : "If you do well, will you not be accepted (Gen. 4:7)."²

"Cursed." (It does not say :) "For in their anger they slay men and in their wantonness they hamstring accursed oxen." Scripture says, rather : "Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce; and their wrath, for it is cruel (Gen. 49:7)."

"Tomorrow."³ (It does not say :) "And Moses said to Joshua, 'Choose for us men, and go out, fight with Amalak tomorrow.'" Scripture says rather : "Tomorrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in my hand (Ex. 17:9)."

"Shaped like almonds." (It does not say :) "And on the lampstand itself four cups made like almonds." Scripture says rather : "Made like almonds with their capitals and flowers (Ex. 25:34)."⁴

"And he (will rise)." (It does not say :) "And the Lord said to Moses, 'Behold, you are about to sleep with your fathers. And he will rise.'" Scripture says rather : "Then this people will rise and play the harlot after the strange gods of the land. ... (Dt. 31:16)."⁵

¹ This chapter begins with two groups of five and then contains no more numbered groups. Isi ben Judah was a third generation Tanna (Strack, p. 116). See Bacher, II, pp. 373-76, especially pp. 375-76, for this saying. Derenbourg (p. 484) says he was a son of Akabiah ben Mahalalel.

Each of the words in question here could go with the syntactic unit which precedes it or with that which follows it. For the same five passages, see Mech to 17:9 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 142-43); BerRab 80:6 (T-A, pp. 957-58); SongRab 1:2 (1); Yoma 52a and b; JerAbZar 2:8 (41c and d); Tan, *Beshalah*, 26; Baraita d'Meleket Ha-Mishken in Jellinek, III, p. 151. It is not clear whether Isi compiled or inherited this list. At any rate, the list remains constant in all cases. Additions in JerTal and Yoma are clearly separate from the original list.

² The text of this first example is difficult in Ms. R. I follow Mss. P, H and G-2 which are similar to Schechter's reconstruction.

³ All Mss. lack this word, but it is demanded by the pattern.

⁴ Modern translations read this verse according to the first, rejected understanding of it. The massoretic cantillation marks in the Hebrew Bible construe the verse according to the understanding of the verse accepted here (the second reading of it.)

⁵ If construed in the first, rejected way, this verse would support the resurrection

There are FIVE inferences from the lesser to the greater in the Torah.⁶

"If Cain is avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy-seven fold (Gen. 4:24)."⁷

"Behold, the money which we found in the mouth of our sacks, we brought back to you from the land of Canaan;" all the more "then how should we steal silver or gold from your lord's house (Gen. 44:8)?"

"But Moses said to the Lord, 'Behold, the people of Israel have not listened to me;'" all the more "then how shall Pharaoh listen to me, who am a man of uncircumcised lips (Ex. 6:12)?"

"But the Lord said to Moses; 'If her [Miriam's] father had but spit in her face, should she not be shamed seven days (Num. 12:14)?" How much the more in my case since I formed her in⁸ her father's house.

"Behold, while I am yet alive with you, today you have been rebellious against the Lord;" all the more "after my death (Dt. 31:27)."

Rabbi Judah ben Hanina⁹ says: "Wantonness (*Pahaz*) (Gen. 49:4)."

of the dead. However, it is understood in the second way. This fact probably testifies to the antiquity of this construing of the verse and to its tenacity. Even when the ambiguity could have legitimately been used to support the contested doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, the traditional syntax of the verse prevailed.

⁶ The rule *qal wa-homer* (inference a fortiori) is the most commonly used hermeneutical rule. It is the first of Hillel's seven (see Strack, p. 94 and p. 285, n. 3 for a standard treatment of it). See BerRab 92:7 (T-A, pp. 1145-46) which speaks of ten inferences, but gives only nine. The Torah in this context means the Pentateuch.

⁷ See Gen. 4:15 where sevenfold vengeance will be taken on anyone who kills Cain. Lamech was a descendent of Cain and with the passing time he increased the blood vengeance promised for the murder of one of their tribe. (See E. A. Speiser: *Genesis* [1964], p. 37 for the connection of this verse with vengeful tribesmen.) This interpretation is not exactly a *qal wa-homer* and it is the only one of the five where the term does not occur.

⁸ Ms. G-2 has *b*. Mss. R and P have *l*.

⁹ From here on the chapter contains miscellaneous materials not unified under a set number. The last half of the chapter treats various titles and qualities for which Israel is beloved.

This paragraph may have been suggested by the theme of rebellion referred to in the preceding paragraph.

The name of Rabbi Judah ben Hanina does not occur elsewhere. Perhaps the name meant is that of Rabbi Judah ben Hanania, who occurs seldom in tannaitic literature (For this suggestion see Bacher, II, pp. 555-56 and Hyman, *Toledot*, p. 562). His name occurs again in SifreDt 306 (Finkelstein, p. 333). In reference to our passage in ARNB Bacher (II, p. 556, n. 1) suggests that perhaps Judah's name is an error for Joshua ben Hananiah.

The Pe stands for "You feared". The Het stands for "You sinned." The Zayin stands for "You committed prostitution."¹⁰

"The wings of the ostrich wave in delight (Job 39:13)."¹¹ "Come, let us take our fill of love until morning; let us delight ourselves with love (Prov. 7:18)." Let us raise them up, let us bear them in love.¹²

"Because your way is perverse before me (Num. 22:32)." She feared, saw, and turned aside.¹³ The spirit took. ...¹⁴

Zayin because it removes from punishment.¹⁵

There are things said to those on earth which really refer to Him on high.¹⁶

¹⁰ "Wantonness" in Hebrew is *phz* and these three letters stand for three words which define wantonness: *p* for *phdt*; *h* for *ht't* and *z* for *znyt*. BerRab 98:4 (T-A, p. 1253) has several other interpretations of this word, but lacks the one here. The same method is used with another verse in Shab 55a. See Lieberman, *Hellenism*, p. 69: for notarikon.

¹¹ See Men 66b and Sifra 12d where *n'lesh* ("wave in delight") is a notarikon and means *nus'* 'wlt *wnht'*, translated in context by Soncino, Menahot, p. 392: "It [the ostrich] carries [the egg], flies upward [with it] and deposits it [in the nest]." Jastrow (p. 449) translates more literally: "He [the bird] raises his wings and rises and enjoys himself." Usually notarikon means that the letters of the word in question each stand for the first letters of other words, but that is not true here. See Strack, p. 97, Rule 30 of the 32 and pp. 295-96, n. 37.

¹² See Men 66b again for a notarikon on *nt'lesh* ("Let us delight ourselves"), which means *ns' wntn wn'lh wnsmh wntht' b'hby* ("Let us have a conversation, then let us go up and rejoice and delight ourselves with dalliances," Jastrow, p. 449). Again the letters of the word *nt'lesh* do not stand for the first letters of the words in the sentence which comes from it.

The notarikon offered here in ARNB is obscure and its Hebrew words do not fit the letters of *nt'lesh*. It is the only one offered and may be meant to refer to both Job 39:13 and Prov. 7:18, since *n'lesh* and *nt'lesh* (see this and the previous note) come from the same root.

¹³ See Menahot 66b and Sifra 12d again for this notarikon. Men 66b interprets it to refer to Balaam's ass: "She [the she ass] feared when she saw [the angel] and she turned aside (Soncino, p. 392)."

¹⁴ This brief sentence is isolated. Because "took" *nll* has a tet as does "is perverse" *yrt* Schechter (note 9) suggests that the one may interpret the other, but the meaning is not clear.

¹⁵ The zayin of some word which has been omitted from the text is taken to mean *zz* (according to Mss. G-2 and P which I follow). See Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 209. Or could this interpretation refer back to the zayin of *Pahaz*? Ms. R has *zn*, perhaps meaning it arms (or provides) against punishment.

¹⁶ For the passage listed below and other passages (the Massora and Rashi refer to 18) see Mech to Ex. 15:7 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 43-45); SifreNum 84 (Horovitz,

"He kept him as the apple of his eye (Dt. 32:10)."¹⁷

"For he who touches you touches the apple of his eye (Zech. 2:12)."¹⁸

"You say, 'What a weariness this is,' and you sniff at it (Mal. 1:13)."¹⁹

Are you not from everlasting, O Lord my God, my Holy One? We shall not die (Hab. 1:12)."²⁰

"If I sin, what do I do to you, you watcher of men? ... Why have I become a burden to myself (Job. 7:20)?"²¹

Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Rabbi Jose Ha-Galili says :²² ALL IS SEEN, REVEALED, AND YET DEPENDENT UPON DEEDS AND A NET IS CAST OVER ALL THE LIVING AND THE JUDGMENT IS A JUDGMENT OF TRUTH. THE SHOP IS OPEN AND THE TABLE IS SET, THE LEDGER LIES OPEN, THE HAND WRITES, THE SHOPKEEPER EXTENDS CREDIT AND THE COLLECTOR IS ALIVE AND STRONG.

He used to say : To the wicked credit is extended, but to the just credit is not extended.²³ The wicked are extended credit in this world

pp. 81-82); Tan, *Beshalah* 16; Yalkut, I, 247. See also C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 347ff. and Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1875) pp. 308ff. for these *Tiqqune Soferim* or Emendations of the Soferim.

Expressions which are indelicate are changed or made to refer to someone other than God.

¹⁷ This passage does not usually occur in the lists. "Apple of his eye" ('*šōn 'ēnō*) does not necessarily refer to God in the context. See the LXX which merely has "the apple of the eye". JerTarg II also avoids reference to the apple of God's eye. Onkelos refers to the apple of their eyes. See Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 359, n. 2 and Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 308.

¹⁸ The Scribes felt that "my eye" was the original, but since the expression "my eye" (referring to God) occurs nowhere else in Scripture, it was changed to "his".

¹⁹ Originally the text was felt to have read : "sniffed at me", but the insult to God was too direct and was changed to "him".

²⁰ Originally the text read "you shall not die." This preserves the parallelism. The Targum also has "you". However, the Scribes changed the text to avoid any impropriety. See Ginsburg, *Introduction*, p. 358.

²¹ Originally the text was said to have read "burden to you (God)." This fits the parallelism of the verse and also is the version given in the LXX.

²² See PA 3:15-16 where a slightly expanded version of this saying occurs in Akiba's name. A pp. 116-17 (G pp. 161-62) has a shorter anonymous version of the saying. Both in A and B the saying comes within the context of PA, Ch. 5. Eliezer ben Jose Ha-Galili was a haggadist (Strack, p. 115). His father was a contemporary and adversary of Akiba.

²³ The thoughts about judgment and man's responsibility expressed in the previous

as though they were people who kept the Torah and as though their evil deeds are not remembered.²⁴ Why is this? To give them the reward for the light commandment which they kept in this world, so that He might punish them in the age to come.²⁵

The just are chastised in this world like men who burned the Torah and whose good deeds are not remembered. Why is this? To punish them with the loss entailed by a minor infraction which they committed in this world in order that He might give them a rich reward, complete in the age to come.

Both the former and the latter receive some of their reward in this world, but the principle remains for him in the world to come.

The prosperity of the wicked ends in misfortune and the repentance of confirmed sinners is not to be counted on²⁶ because their sentence has been sealed. Some say : Power buries its possessors.²⁷ And some say : Merit suspends (judgment) and chastisement cleanses and the Day of Atonement atones.²⁸

Everyone dies naked and goes forth naked; would that leaving life were like coming into it.²⁹

p. 124 The people of Israel³⁰ are beloved because they were created in the

paragraph lead to the ever-present problem of the suffering of the good and prosperity of the evil. (See Ch. 22 above for another approach to this problem.)

The receiving of credit refers to the good which people enjoy in this life. It is conceived of as a loan against the reward stored up for a person in the next world. The evil use up their full store of credit and so may be punished in the next life.

²⁴ Ms. R and Schechter have a repetitious clause here which breaks the pattern of thought and does not occur in Ms. G-2. I have omitted it in the translation.

²⁵ See A p. 118 (G p. 162) where the terms are used in a slightly different way. The idea that the evil are rewarded in this world so that they can be punished in the next world is very common. See SifreDt 307 (Finkelstein, p. 345); MidTan, p. 187; Taan 11a (Malter, pp. 152-53); JerPeah 1:1 (15b); JerSanh 10:1 (27c).

²⁶ I only guess at the meaning of *bwgdt* in this context. Ben Yehuda. I, pp. 458-59 and Yoma 86b are no help for us here.

²⁷ See A p. 117 (G p. 162) for similar thoughts as those so far. Yoma 86b also has the same material and in a similar order. This paragraph seems to be a stable block of sayings.

²⁸ See A p. 117 (G p. 162) where "repentance" suspends judgment. I follow Mss. G-2 and P which read "merit" (*hzkut*). Ms. R has no subject for the sentence. Schechter suggests (note 18) "punishment removes sin (*mmrqyn*)."

²⁹ For the text see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, p. 197. The text does not give the point of comparison between coming into life and leaving it. Rashi (Yoma 86b) says that it is innocence.

³⁰ The rest of this chapter is taken up with a series of paragraphs on the people of Israel. This and the next two paragraphs follow one pattern and the paragraphs after

image (of God). But even if they had not been created and it had not been said to them,³¹ they would have been beloved. Extraordinary love was showed to them because they were created in God's image, as Scripture says : "For God made man in his own image (Gen. 9:6)."³²

The people of Israel are beloved because they are called sons of God. But even if they had not been created and not called sons of God, they would have been beloved. Extraordinary love was showed to them because they were called sons of God, as Scripture says : "You are the sons of the Lord your God. ... (Dt. 14:1)."

The people of Israel are beloved because they were given the implement with which the world was created. Even if they had not been created and it had not been said to them, they would have been beloved. Extraordinary love was showed to them because they were given the implement with which the world was created, that is, the Torah, as Scripture says : "And I have put my words in your mouth, and hid you in the shadow of my hand. ... (Is. 51:16)."

The people of Israel were called servants³³ and the ministering angels were called servants. The people of Israel were called servants, as Scripture says : "For to me the people of Israel are servants. ... (Lev. 25:55)." The ministering angels were called servants, as Scripture says : "even in his servants he puts no trust; and his angels he charges with error (Job. 4:18)." But you do not know which is more beloved than the other. When Scripture says : "For they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt. ... (Lev.

them have another one.

These first two paragraphs are close to PA 3:14 and A p. 118 (G p. 162). I follow Ms. G-2, which has three paragraphs, in my translation, not the truncated text (two paragraphs) found in Ms. R and Schechter; Ms. G-2 must be corrected in several places, however.

³¹ This clause is not clear. What was said to them? Schechter (note 20) suggests emending the text to read "give" but this change is nowhere substantiated. Perhaps "said" refers to the Scriptural quote which occurs below; or it may refer to the word of creation, that they were made in God's image.

³² The idea of the paragraph seems to be that Israel would have been beloved, in the end, even if all the favors were not shown her. But since they were shown her, then she is an object of extraordinary love. But the hypothetical clause "even if they had not been created" in this and the following paragraphs is difficult. If a creature is not created, then no love can be shown it.

³³ The pattern established in this paragraph is followed in the successive paragraphs in this chapter. For the text followed here, see Mss. H and G-2 and Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 197-98.

15:55),” (it means:) Israel, you are more beloved to me than the ministering angels.³⁴

The people of Israel were called sons, as Scripture says : “You are the sons of the Lord your God. ... (Dt. 14:1).” And the ministering angels were called sons, as Scripture says : “Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord. ... (Job. 1:6).” But you do not know which is more loved than the others. When Scripture says : “Israel is my first-born son. ... (Ex. 4:22),” (it means :) Israel, you are more beloved to me than the ministering angels.

The people of Israel were called kings and the ministering angels were called kings. The people of Israel were called kings, as Scripture says : “By me kings reign. ... (Prov. 8:15).” And the ministering angels were called kings, as Scripture says : “The kings of the hosts, they flee, they flee (Ps. 68:13)!” But you do not know which is more honored than the other. When Scripture says : “And you shall be to me a kingdom of priests. ... (Ex. 19:6),” (it means :) Israel, you are more honored before me than the ministering angels.³⁵

The people of Israel were called hosts and the ministering angels were called hosts. Where are the people of Israel called hosts? Scripture says : “For on this very day I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt. ... (Ex. 12:17).” And where are the ministering angels called hosts? Scripture says “The kings of the hosts, they flee. ... (Ps. 68:13).” But you do not know which is greater than the other. When Scripture says : “I will bring forth my hosts, my people the sons of Israel, out of the land of Egypt. ... (Ex. 7:4),” (it means :) Israel, you are greater to me than the ministering angels.³⁶

The people of Israel were called holy and the ministering angels were called holy. Where are the people of Israel called holy? Scripture says : “Israel is holy to the Lord. ... (Jer. 2:3).” Where are the ministering angels called holy? Scripture says : “The sentence is by the decree of the watchers, the decision by the word of the holy ones. ... (Dan. 4:14).” But you do not know which was holier than the other. When Scripture says : “Israel is holy to the Lord, the first fruits of his harvest (Jer. 2:3),” (it means :) Israel, you are more holy before me than the ministering angels.

³⁴ Israel is called ‘*My servant*’, a sign of greater favor.

³⁵ Priests who minister in God’s sanctuary are here considered more important and beloved than angels who minister in His heavenly court.

³⁶ Israel is called “*My hosts*”, a sign of greater favor.

The people of Israel sing a song of praise and the ministering angels sing a song of praise. Where do we learn that the people of Israel sing? Scripture says : "Hear, O Israel : The Lord our God is one Lord. ... (Dt. 6:4)." ³⁷ And where do we learn that the ministering angels sing? Scripture says : "...When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy (Job. 38:7)." But you do not know which song of praise is more praiseworthy. When Scripture says : "...the anointed of the God of Jacob, the sweet psalmist of Israel.... (2 Sam. 23:1)," (it means :) the praise which you offer before me is more praiseworthy than that of the ministering angels. Similarly Scripture says : "Yet you are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel (Ps. 22:4)."

³⁷ This verse is the opening of the Shema, the prayer said, twice each day by every Jew. In the synagogue today it is sung in a loud voice; that custom must also have prevailed at the time that this comment was made, since it connects the Shema with singing.

CHAPTER FORTY-FIVE

There are SEVEN types of Pharisee:¹ the *skmy* Pharisee,² the *qwzi* Pharisee,³ the *mdwky* Pharisee,⁴ and *nqpy* Pharisee,⁵ the Pharisee (who says :) May I know my guilt,⁶ the Pharisee with fear like that of Job, the Pharisee with love like that of Abraham.⁷

EVERYONE CHARACTERIZED BY THE FOLLOWING THREE THINGS IS OF THE DISCIPLES OF ABRAHAM AND EVERYONE CHARACTERIZED BY THE

¹ This chapter contains this one group of seven and then groups of three and four, many of them from PA.

The list of seven types of Pharisees is found in A p. 109 (G p. 153 and nn. 5-13); Sot 22b; JerBer 9:7 (14b); JerSot 5:7 (20c). The two sources in the Jerusalem Talmud are virtually identical. See Mishnah Sotah 3:4 which speaks of *mkwt prwšym* (the plagues of Pharisees), to which these designations are given in commentary in Sotah. The first four names are idiomatic and their exact meaning escapes us. The Talmuds give them various interpretations. See Moore, II, pp. 193-94. Finkelstein (*Pharisees*, p. 837, n. 52) seems to take the seven designation as characterization of seven grades of piety in a good sense. Certainly the last two grades (in which he is mainly interested) can be taken that way, but the earlier names seem derogatory. A. Guttmann (*Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 165-167) thinks the Palestinian Talmud gives the best version.

² The root *škm* means shoulder and also the load carried on it. JerBer explains that this kind of Pharisee carries his works on his shoulder ostentatiously. Sotah says that he performs an action similar to Shechem (who had himself circumcised from an unworthy motive—Gen. 34).

³ *qwzy* is connected to the root *qzz* (calculate, balance) according to JerBer and means a Pharisee who calculates his good deeds to exactly counter his bad deeds. Sotah interprets it to mean a Pharisee who makes blood flow against the walls (*mgyz dm lktlym*)—perhaps to avoid looking at women.

⁴ *mdwkh* means a "mortar". In Sotah *mdwky* is interpreted to mean the pestle which is always "bowed" in the mortar. The JerTal has a different name for the Pharisee.

⁵ *nqp* means to bring close together, so Sotah says this Pharisee knocks his feet together. JerBer interprets the root in its Aramaic meaning, "Excuse me, (and I will do a religious duty)."

⁶ Schechter has recorded Ms. R incorrectly, omitting "*šnh*". Mss. G-2 and P agree with his emendation of R. Sotah understands this kind of Pharisee as "Let me know my duty," that is, one who assumes that he has fulfilled all his duties and (through presumption) asks what more there is to do.

⁷ On the relative value of fear and love as motives, see Finkelstein, *Mabo*, pp. 33-34. He sees Sotah, where fear is the last and better of motives, as original. See also Ch. 10, n. 13 on the saying of Antigonos. In the Babylonian Talmud (Sotah 22b), later rabbis interpreted fear and love in relation to punishment and reward and saw both as unworthy motives.

FURTHER THREE THINGS IS OF THE DISCIPLES OF BALAAM. THOSE WHO ARE OF ABRAHAM ARE CHARACTERIZED BY A GENEROUS ATTITUDE, A HUMBLE SPIRIT AND A MODEST DISPOSITION.⁸

Where does Scripture teach about a generous attitude?⁹ It says : "And Abraham ran to the herd and took a calf (*bn bqr*), tender and good. ... (Gen. 18:7)." *Bn* refers to a three year old ; "tender" refers to a two year old calf ; "good" refers to a one year old calf.¹⁰

Where does Scripture teach about a humble spirit? It says : "I am a stranger and a sojourner among you (Gen. 23:4)."¹¹

Where does Scripture teach about a modest disposition? It says : "I am but dust and ashes (Gen. 18:27)."¹²

THE OPPOSITES OF THESE QUALITIES CHARACTERIZE THE DISCIPLES OF BALAAM : A GRUDGING ATTITUDE, AN ARROGANT SPIRIT, AND LIMITLESS APPETITE.¹³

Where does Scripture teach about a grudging attitude? Before Israel left Egypt, all the nations of the world used to come to consult
p. 125 Balaam ; after they left Egypt, even a maidservant in Israel was wiser than he.¹⁴ So he began to cast a grudging eye on Israel, as Scripture says : "Behold, a people has come out of Egypt. ... (Num. 22:5)."

⁸ See PA 5:19. Version A lacks this saying. "A modest disposition (*npš šlph*) means one who makes few demands.

⁹ Literally, "a good eye". Here the expression seems to mean "generous". See B Ch. 29, n. 19 for other meanings.

¹⁰ See B Ch. 23 (p. 47) and n. 5 for this same interpretation of Gen. 18:7

¹¹ Abraham says this to the *bny ht* when asking to buy a burial plot for Sarah. Actually, the land has been promised him by God as his own and his descendants' possession forever, so Abraham is humble in asking.

¹² Abraham, in asking God to save the inhabitants of Sodom, realizes that his desires are great and carefully sounds out God and His desires.

¹³ See PA 5:19. This is the second half of the saying. These three characteristics are interpreted similarly in Tan, *Balak*, 6; TabBub, *Num.*, p. 136.

¹⁴ Balak occurs in conjunction with Abraham in Ch. 23 (p. 48); see note 10 earlier in this chapter. Balaam had a universally bad reputation among the rabbis (*Legends*, III, p. 345 and passim).

According to NumRab 20:7 Balaam expected all the peoples of the world to seek him out after he cursed Israel. NumRab 20:9 notes that he is proud that kings send to him.

Mech to 15:2 (Lauterbach, II, p. 24) notes that the lowliest maidservant who was at the Reed Sea saw what Isaiah and Ezekiel did not see—a close view of God. See also DtRab 7:8 and *Legends*, VI, p. 124, n. 725. For a disussion of this passage, see Goldin, *The Song at the Sea*, p. 112.

And it also says : "And they are dwelling opposite me. Come now, curse this people for me. ... (Num. 22:5-6)." ¹⁵

(As for) an arrogant spirit : "Balaam...said to the princes of Balak, 'Go to your own land ; for the Lord has refused to let me go with you' (Num. 22:13)." (Which means :) Shall I go with the likes of you ? I will only go with greater than you. And the end of the matter was that : "Balak sent princes, more in number and more honorable than they (Num. 22:15)." ¹⁶

Where does Scripture teach about limitless appetite ? It says : "If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold. ... (Num. 24:13)."

IF ONE LEADS THE MULTITUDES TO VIRTUE, THROUGH HIM SHALL NO SIN COME ; IF ONE LEADS THE MULTITUDES TO SIN, THROUGH HIM SHALL NO VIRTUE COME. ¹⁷

FOUR erred in vision. They are : Adam and Cain, Balaam and Hezekiah. ¹⁸

Adam erred in vision, as Scripture says : "But the Lord called to the man, and said to him, 'Where are you ?' And he said, 'I heard

¹⁵ The verses quoted from Numbers are the words of Balak when he sends for Balaam, He is seen to be implying that this people is a threat not only for himself but for Balaam and he appeals to Balaam's resentment and jealousy (*Legends*, III, p. 360-61).

TanBub, *Lev.*, p. 136, more appropriately uses Num. 24:2 where Balaam himself looks on Israel.

¹⁶ All of Balaam's actions are interpreted pejoratively. His refusal to go at first was not his desire to obey God's will, but his desire for more glory from Balak. For the view of Balaam as a great and evil prophet, see *Legends*, III, pp. 154ff., especially p. 358. See also B Ch. 23 (p. 48) and note 8 ; Ch. 34 (p. 76).

¹⁷ See PA 5:18. For a slightly different and expanded version of this, see A p. 120 (G p. 164) ; Yoma 87a ; TosYoma 5:10-11 (pp. 190-91). These latter versions explain that the one leading others to virtue does not sin lest he be in Gehenna and the people he led to virtue be in Paradise. The opposite is true for the other man.

¹⁸ *šgw br'h* is found in Is. 28:7 and means "err in vision". The exact connection between this introductory phrase and the four examples educed is not patent. Each seems to have concealed something from God, or engaged in word play with him or done something implicitly boastful. Perhaps the author of ARNB understands the phrase to mean that they underestimated God (that is, erred in their vision of God). BerRab 19:11 (T-A, p. 180) says that God compared these four to wine jars and found them to be containers of water for washing feet. NumRab 20:6 says that the last three of the four were found to be containers of urine and then quotes verses similar to those here. In NumRab the dominant theme is that each of the three should have humbly admitted that God is omniscient, but each boastfully tried to give Him information or trick him. Perhaps the phrase "err in vision" means that each was granted a vision of God, but then acted wrongly, that is, interpreted the vision wrongly.

the sound of you in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.' He said, 'Who told you that you were naked' (Gen. 3:9-11)?" And the end of the matter was that: "The man said, 'The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate' (Gen. 3:12)."

Cain erred in vision, as Scripture says: "Then the Lord said to Cain, 'Where is Abel your brother?' He said, 'I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?' (Gen. 4:9)." He wasn't committed to my care, was he? If he had been committed to my care, I would have taken care of him. And the end of the matter was that: "Cain said to the Lord, 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, you have driven me this day away from the ground. ... (Gen. 4:13-14)."

Balaam erred in vision, as Scripture says: "And God came to Balaam and said, 'Who are these men with you?' And Balaam said to God, 'Balek the son of Zippor, king of Moab, has sent to me saying, 'Behold, a people has come out of Egypt and it covers the face of the earth. ... (Num. 22:9-11)." And the end of the matter was that: "God said to Balaam, 'You shall not go with them; you shall not curse the people, for they are blessed' (Num. 22:13)."

Hezekiah erred in vision, as Scripture says: "Then Isaiah the prophet came to King Hezekiah, and said to him, 'What did these men say? And whence did they come to you?' Hezekiah said, 'They have to me from a far country, from Babylon'. He said, 'What have they seen in your house?' Hezekiah answered, 'They have seen all that is in my house; there is nothing in my storehouses that I did not show them'. Then Isaiah said to Hezekiah, 'Hear the word of the Lord of hosts: Behold, the days are coming, when all that is in your house, and that which your fathers have stored up till this day, shall be carried to Babylon; nothing shall be left, says the Lord' (Is. 39:3-6)." Even the things which I gave you on Mount Sinai they will carry away with them to Babylon. And the end of the matter was that "Hezekiah said to Isaiah, 'The word of the Lord which you have spoken is good.' For he thought, 'There will be peace and security in my days' (Is. 39:8)."

THREE conceived evil plans and the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed their plans to all the inhabitants of the world. (They are) Cain, Esau, and Absalom.¹⁹

¹⁹ As in the immediately preceding paragraphs, openness and frankness are opposed to deception and evil. The three who planned evil are found in BerRab 75:9 (T-A, p. 888). The idea is that anyone who tries to deceive God fails and is further exposed to the world.

Cain thought within himself, saying : I will kill my brother and inherit the world, as Scripture says : "Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him (Gen. 4:8)." God revealed his plot to all the inhabitants of the world, as Scripture says : "And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand. When you till the ground, it shall no longer yield you its strength; you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth (Gen. 4:11-12)."

Esau thought within himself, saying : I will kill my brother; but God revealed his plan to all the inhabitants of the world, as Scripture says : "But the words of Esau her older son were told to Rebekah; so she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said to him, 'Behold, your brother Esau comforts himself by planning to kill you (Gen. 27:42).'"

Absalom thought within himself, saying : I will kill my father and inherit the kingdom, as Scripture says : "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel (2 Sam. 15:6)." Where does Scripture teach us that God revealed his plan to all the inhabitants of the world? It says : "Absalom said, 'Would that I were judge in the land' (2 Sam. 15:4)."²⁰

THREE conceived good plans and God revealed their plans to all the inhabitants of the world. They are Reuben, Tamar, and Ruth.

Reuben planned to save Joseph, as Scripture says : "And Reuben said to them, 'Shed no blood; cast him into this pit here in the wilderness, but lay no hand upon him'—that he might rescue him out of their hand, to restore him to his father (Gen. 37:22)."²¹ And where do we learn that God revealed his plan to all the world? Scripture says : "Reuben will live and not die (Dt. 33:6)" Reuben will live because of the merit of Joseph and not die because of the (evil) deed with Bilhah.²²

Tamar formed a plan and said : Is it possible that a sinner²³ can come forth from the house of this just man (Jacob). And how did God

²⁰ The ultimate judge is the king, in this case, Absalom's father, David. Absalom himself reveals his intentions by implication, since to be judge he must kill his father.

²¹ This comment at the end of the verse tells us what Reuben's motive was in making the suggestion that Joseph be thrown into a pit; God has made the motive known.

²² See Sifre 347 (Finkelstein, p. 404).

²³ *ḥwt'h* : this is a feminine form. Tamar seems to reason that her action is lawful, given the circumstances. She is encouraged because she is a member of Jacob's family through his grandson Er (Gen. 38).

reveal her plan to all the inhabitants of the world? In that she went and was married to Judah and gave birth to Perez and Zerah.²⁴

Ruth formed a plan and said to her mother-in-law: "Your people shall be my people, and your God my God; where you die I will die, and there will I be buried (Ru. 1:16)." And how did God reveal her plan to all the inhabitants of the world? In that she went and married Boaz, as Scripture says: "Boaz begot Obed, Obed begot Jesse, and Jesse begot David (Ru. 4:21-22)." And David is king in this world and in the world to come.

THREE told the truth and lost both the life of this world and the life of the world to come. They are the spies and they were smitten with plague,²⁵ Doeg when he told about the affairs of David,²⁶ and p. 126 the sons of Rimmon the Belerothite because they caused the death of Mephibosheth.²⁷ Some say: Also the son of the sojourner, an Amalekite, because he announced the death of Saul.²⁸

THREE confessed and lost their lives in this world, but inherited the life of the world to come.²⁹ They are the collector of sticks,³⁰ the curser,³¹ and Achan.³²

THREE revolted and confessed and inherited both this world and the world to come.³³ They are the midwives,³⁴ Rahab,³⁵ and the Gibeonites.³⁶ And some say Hushai the Archite also.³⁷

²⁴ Gen. 38:29-30.

²⁵ In Num. 14:37, the spies die of plague.

²⁶ Doeg told Saul that Nob had provisioned David; consequently, Saul slaughtered Nob.

²⁷ 2 Sam. 4:5-12.

²⁸ 2 Sam. 1:1-16.

²⁹ See Moore, I, pp. 511-14 for the place of confession of sin in true repentance and subsequent forgiveness.

³⁰ This is a man caught collecting sticks on the Sabbath who was ordered stoned (Num. 15:32-36).

³¹ Lev. 24:10ff.

³² See Joshua 7.

³³ All three revolted from their own people to ally themselves with Israel.

³⁴ See Ex. 1:15-21 where the two midwives refuse to obey Pharaoh. In verse 15 they are called Israelite. However, this passage in ARNB assumes that they were Egyptians who shifted their loyalty (an opinion found in Josephus, *Ant.*, II, 9, 2). Perhaps Israelite in vs. 15 was thought to refer to those whom they served, not to their nationality.

³⁵ Jos. 2.

³⁶ Jos. 9:3-27.

³⁷ See 2 Sam. 15:32ff. where David sends his friend Hushai back to Jerusalem to pretend to defect to Absalom and to spy for David.

There are FOUR things characteristic of women but not of men. Women are gluttons, jealous, eavesdroppers and lazy.³⁸

Gluttons, for Scripture says : "The woman saw that the tree was good for food...and took of its fruit and ate (Gen. 3:6)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they are jealous? It says : "When Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children, she was jealous of her sister. ... (Gen. 30:1)."

Eavesdroppers, for Scripture says : "And Sarah was listening at the tent door behind him (Gen. 18:10)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they are lazy? It says : "Make ready *quickly* three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes (Gen. 18:6)."³⁹

Rabbi Jose says : Just as four things are characteristic of women, so are they characteristic of men. Men are gluttons, jealous, eavesdroppers and lazy.⁴⁰

Where does Scripture teach us that they are gluttons? It says : "Then they sat down to eat. ... (Gen 37:25)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they are jealous? It says : "And his brothers were jealous of him (Gen. 37:11)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they are eavesdroppers? It says : "They did not know that Joseph was listening. ... (Gen. 42:23)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they are lazy? It says : "Make haste and go to my father. ... (Gen. 45:9)."

THERE ARE FOUR TYPES⁴¹ AMONG THOSE THAT FREQUENT THE STUDY-HOUSE :

³⁸ I follow the order of bad qualities found in Ms. G-2, rather than that in Ms. R, because it fits the order of interpretations below. Ms. P has the qualities in the order found in Ms. R and then has the interpretations in that order, too. For parallels to this section see BerRab 45:5 (T-A, pp. 452-53) and DtRab 6:11. For other evil qualities of women, see BerRab 18:2 (T-A, pp. 162-63) and DtRab 6:11.

³⁹ The injunction "quickly" implies that Sarah would have acted slowly through laziness if she had not been commanded otherwise.

⁴⁰ All the texts illustrating these four types are taken from the Joseph story.

⁴¹ The rest of the chapter is taken up with PA 5:14, 13, 12, 10, 15. A Ch. 40 (pp. 126-27; G pp. 164-66) has the order PA 5:10, 12, 14, 15. Finkelstein (*Mabo*, pp. 97ff.) considers Version A, which is very different in a couple of cases, to be earlier than PA or B.

This paragraph is PA 5:14 with a changed order of the four elements and some changes in expression. For the four part form here and below, see G. B. Safrati's article referred to in Ch. 22, n. 12. ARNA p. 126 (G pp. 164-65) has a paragraph that deals with "those that frequent the study house" and how close they sit to the sage.

THERE IS ONE WHO ATTENDS AND PUTS INTO PRACTICE—THE PIOUS.
THERE IS ONE WHO NEITHER ATTENDS NOR PUTS INTO PRACTICE—
THE WICKED.

THERE IS ONE WHO ATTENDS BUT DOES NOT PUT INTO PRACTICE—HE
RECEIVES A REWARD FOR ATTENDANCE.

THERE IS ONE WHO PUTS INTO PRACTICE BUT DOES NOT ATTEND—HE
RECEIVES A REWARD FOR PRACTICE.

THERE ARE FOUR TYPES OF GIVERS OF CHARITY;⁴²

HE THAT GIVES AND WISHES OTHERS TO GIVE TOO—THE PIOUS.

HE THAT NEITHER GIVES NOR WISHES OTHERS TO GIVE—THE
WICKED.

HE WHO GIVES DOES NOT WISH OTHERS TO GIVE—BEGRUDGES
WHAT BELONGS TO OTHERS .

HE WHO DOES NOT GIVE BUT WISHES OTHERS TO GIVE—BEGRUDGES
WHAT BELONGS TO HIMSELF

THERE ARE FOUR TYPES OF DISCIPLES;⁴³

HE WHO UNDERSTANDS EASILY AND FORGETS WITH DIFFICULTY—
HE GAINED.

HE WHO UNDERSTANDS WITH DIFFICULTY AND FORGETS EASILY—
HE HAS NOT GAINED.

HE WHO UNDERSTANDS EASILY BUT FORGETS EASILY—HIS GAIN
IS CANCELED BY HIS LOSS.

HE WHO UNDERSTANDS WITH DIFFICULTY BUT FORGETS WITH
DIFFICULTY—HIS LOSS IS CANCELED BY HIS GAIN.

THERE ARE FOUR TYPES OF MEN;⁴⁴

(ONE WHO SAYS :) MINE IS MINE AND THINE IS THINE---THE
COMMONPLACE TYPE. SOME SAY : THAT IS THE SODOM TYPE.

MINE IS THINE AND THINE IS MINE—THE AM HA-ARETZ

MINE IS MINE AND THINE IS MINE—THE WICKED.

THINE IS THINE AND MINE IS THINE—THE PIOUS.

p. 127 THERE ARE FOUR TYPES AMONG THOSE THAT SIT IN THE PRESENCE
OF THE SAGES : THE FUNNEL, THE SPONGE, THE SIFTER, AND THE
STRAINER.⁴⁵

⁴² See PA 5:13 which has a different order and some changes in expression.

⁴³ See PA 5:12 which has a different order; "the pious" for "the meritorious"; and "this is an evil lot" for "the unworthy". A p. 126 (G p. 164) deals with four types of disciples who wish or do not wish themselves and others to study.

⁴⁴ See PA 5:10 and A p. 126 (G p. 164).

⁴⁵ See PA 5:15 and A p. 127 (G pp. 165-66). Each of the sources has the items in a different order.

THE FUNNEL TAKES IN AT ONE EAR AND LETS OUT AT THE OTHER. This refers to a scholar who entered the study-house, listened to Midrash, Halakah, and Agada;⁴⁶ but when he leaves, he has retained nothing.

THE SPONGE SOAKS UP EVERYTHING. This refers to a scholar who entered the study-house and listened to Midrash, Halakah, and Agada; when he leaves, he has learned something but when he presents (what he has learned), he presents it all confused.

THE SIFTER LETS THROUGH THE FINE FLOUR BY ITSELF, THEN THE COARSE FLOUR BY ITSELF AND THEN THE BRAN BY ITSELF.⁴⁷ This refers to a scholar who entered the study-house and listened to Midrash, Halakah, and Agada; when he leaves, he has learned something and he presents each item in an orderly fashion.

THE STRAINER REMOVES ONLY THE LEES. This refers to a scholar who entered the study-house and listened to Midrash, Halakah, and Agada; when he leaves, he has not retained anything. But when he hears idle chatter, that he retains.

⁴⁶ See this curriculum in Ch. 12, n. 7 and the references there.

⁴⁷ Both PA and A have the sifter holding back the coarse flour and collecting the fine flour. The basic idea is the same in both B and the other two.

CHAPTER FORTY-SIX

p. 128 EVERY ASSEMBLY WHICH IS FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN WILL IN THE END ENDURE; BUT ONE WHICH IS NOT FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN WILL NOT ENDURE IN THE END.¹ What kind of assembly was for the sake of heaven? The assembly of our ancestors at Mount Sinai. What kind of assembly was not for the sake of heaven? The assembly of the generation of the Tower of Babel.

EVERY CONTROVERSY WHICH IS FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN REFERS TO THE CONTROVERSY OF SHAMMAI AND HILLEL. AND ONE WHICH WAS NOT FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN REFERS TO THE CONTROVERSY OF KORAH AND HIS COMPANY.²

Everyone who is discontent is a disciple of Adam, as Scripture says: "The man said, 'The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate' (Gen. 3:12)."³

Every one who is ungrateful is a disciple of Sennacherib, as Scripture says: "My hand has found like a nest the wealth of the peoples; and as men gather eggs that have been forsaken so I gathered all the earth (Is. 10:14)."⁴

Concerning THREE prophetic books: If one sees himself in his dreams reading the Book of Isaiah, let him look forward to salvation; if the Book of Kings, let him look forward to authority; if the Book of Jeremiah, let him fear calamity.⁵

¹ This saying occurs in PA 4:11b in the name of Johanan the Sandelar. In A p. 129 (G p. 168) it is anonymous and followed by the interpretation given here in B.

² See PA 5:17 and A p. 129 (G p. 169). Ms. R has a slightly shortened version of this saying and puts Shammai before Hillel. For Shammai before Hillel, see Ch. 23, n. 1. Ms. P and Ms. G-2 have variants.

³ See PRK (p. 284) where one who is discontent is called a descendant of Adam. See also LamRab 3:39 (9) and SifreDt 1 (Finkelstein, p. 5).

⁴ In Is. 10:12 the passage begins by saying that God will punish the arrogant boasting of the King of Assyria (Sennacherib) and his haughty pride. Is. 10:15 follows our verse, saying: "Shall the axe vaunt itself over him who hews with it. ..." The implication here, made explicit in Hul 89a is that God gave Sennacherib his greatness and success and Sennacherib was ungrateful to Him.

⁵ The rest of the chapter contains groups of three and four. The next four paragraphs are groups of three and all end with something that forebodes calamity.

A p. 128 (G p. p. 167) and Ber 57b have similar lists with variations. They are basically three entries ending with something which forebodes calamity. These lists seem to be an attempt to connect interpretation of dreams to Torah; they presume a mind so

Concerning THREE Holy Writings : If one sees himself in his dreams reading the Books of Proverbs, let him look forward to wisdom ; if the Book of Psalms, let him look forward to fear of sin ;⁶ if the Book of Job, let him fear calamity.

Concerning THREE Sages : If one sees Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah in his dreams, let him look forward to wisdom ; if Rabbi Akiba, let him look forward to fear of sin ; if Rabbi Ishmael, let him fear calamity.⁷

p. 129 Concerning THREE disciples : if one sees Ben Azzai in his dream, let him look forward to wisdom ; if Ben Zoma, let him look forward to fear of sin ; if Rabbi Elisha ben Abuyiah, let him look forward to calamity.⁸

full of the Sacred Writings and the Sages that they occur in dreams. In this paragraph Isaiah (*yš'yh*) is close to salvation (*yšw'h*) and Kings (*mlkym*) to authority (*mlkut*). Jeremiah, of course, experienced the first destruction of the Temple.

⁶ "Fear of sin" is not clear. It occurs in ARNA as something presaged by Johanan ben Nuri and does not occur in Ber 57b. It probably means that the one who sees the Book of Psalms in his dream will be blessed by a healthy fear of sin which will make him careful to keep the commandments and humble before God. See its use in PA 3:9 and A p. 74 (G pp. 99).

⁷ There are four versions of this paragraph and they are all very different. The connection of set qualities with certain scholars was much more fluid than in the case of the Biblical books.

<i>ARNA</i>		<i>Ber 57b</i> (printed versions)	
Johanan ben Nuri	Fear of sin	Rabbi	Wisdom
Eleazar ben Azariah	Greatness & Riches	Eleazar b.A.	Riches
Ishmael	Wisdom	Ishmael	Calamity
Akiba	Calamity		
<i>ARNB</i>		<i>Ber 57b</i> (Diquque Soferim, n. D)	
Eleazar ben Azariah	Wisdom	Rabbi Akiba	Piety
Akiba	Fear of sin	Eleazar b.A.	Greatness & Riches
Ishmael	Calamity	Ishmael	Calamity

Ishmael is solidly associated with calamity (except in A), probably because he was killed during the Bar Kosiba revolt (see Ch. 41, p. 114), Eleazar ben Azariah is associated with riches (except in B) because he was of wealthy and distinguished ancestry (Strack, p. 111). Akiba gets associated with three different things. Johanan ben Nuri (in A) seems to be an interloper to the list.

Finkelstein attributes this passage in B to the school of Akiba, since he is a sign of good fortune. And he dates it, using Version A, before the move to Usha. (It was certainly written after these sages died.) See Mabo, p. 103.

⁸ These three were never ordained (Bacher, I, p. 406), though Elisha is strangely

If one says :⁹ I will go and study Torah because it is my obligation—he acts properly; because others might see me—he is second to him; because I might hear something and come and teach it—he is average; because I might be called a scholar—he is hideous and deformed.

If one says : I will go and do an act of kindness because it is my obligation—he acts properly; because others might see me—he is second to him; because I might hear something and come and teach it¹⁰—he is average; because I might be called a doer of kindnesses—he is hideous and deformed.

One who wishes to study Torah and teach others is good for himself and for others.¹¹ One who wishes to study but not teach others is good for himself but not for others. One who wishes others (to study) but not himself is good for others but not for himself. One who wishes that neither he nor others study is hideous and deformed.

One who wishes to spend Sabbath with wise men and who wishes others to do so too is good for himself and for others. One who wishes it for himself but not for others is good for himself but not for others. One who wishes it for others but not for himself is good for others but not for himself. One who wishes it neither for himself nor for others is hideous and deformed.

One who wishes to act kindly and that others act kindly too is good for himself and for others.¹² One who wishes to act kindly but

called Rabbi here. These three, along with Akiba, went into the orchard to discuss mystical lore and met unhappy ends. In A and Berachot Ben Azzai is connected to piety and Ben Zoma to wisdom. Elisha, who became an apostate, is associated with calamity.

⁹ The next five paragraphs all have the same ending : *dwvy wškwv*, which I translate : “hideous and deformed”. Its meaning seems to be the lowest that can be imagined. This same expression occurs as a description of Israel’s present state in the instruction to prospective converts in Yeb 47a.

¹⁰ This characterization of a man doing works of charity, that he might hear something and come and teach it, is odd in this context. It may be a carry over from the previous paragraph. See Schechter, note 7, who also suspects it. If it is original it must mean that in the course of doing a charitable work words of Torah will be exchanged, and that the person is doing the good deed for this knowledge. This meaning is strained, however.

¹¹ These next three paragraphs follow a slightly different pattern than the two immediately preceding. They again take up the themes of studying and doing acts of kindness.

For this paragraph, see A p. 126 (G p. 164) and B p. 126 (Ch. 45) and note 43 there.

¹² See Ch. 45 above (p. 126) and note 42 and PA 5:13.

not others is good for himself but not for others. One who wishes others to act kindly but not himself is good for others but not for himself. One who wishes that neither he nor others act kindly is hideous and deformed.

There are FOUR types of stupid people : trampled, crushed, wheel, YNQH.¹³

There are FOUR types among those who sit studying : the corner stone, the hewn stone, the squared stone and the polished stone.¹⁴

THREE books were kept in the Temple :¹⁵ the Book of Me'onah, the Book of Za'atutah and the Book of Hy'.

Concerning the Book of Me'onah,¹⁶ one version had "habitation" (*mā'ôn*) of the ancient God" and two¹⁷ had "habitation" (*mē'ônāh*) (Dt. 33:27). They abandoned the former and adopted the latter. Rabbi Jose says : This was the book which was kept in Beth Ma'on.¹⁸

Concerning the Book of Za'atutah, one version had "young men

¹³ These four types of stupid people match the four types of those who sit studying, in the next paragraph. No explanation of these characterizations is known. Schechter (note 9) tries to compare them to types of containers without a stable base, contrasted to the stones which sit securely in the following paragraph. But the stone's stability is not the point of comparison there and it is not clear that this paragraph refers to containers. Perhaps the first two are threshold and pestle. But the meaning of *ynqh* totally escapes me.

¹⁴ For an explanation of three of these four types who sit studying, see A p. 86 (Ch. 28; G pp. 117-18). The squared stone, with four sides exposed, fits smoothly into the order hewn stone, corner stone, squared stone, and polished stone.

¹⁵ For the three Scrolls of the Torah kept in the Temple as a check on other texts of the Torah, see Lieberman, *Hellenism*, pp. 20-27. The story as told here does not make sense. We are speaking of three copies of the Torah and yet below our version keeps speaking of the one and the other and not of two others. The idea is that each scroll had a peculiar reading, not present in the other two and that each scroll was characterized by its own peculiar reading. Since a reading found in two copies superseded one found only in one copy, these characteristic readings were not adopted as official ones. For a correct version of the story, see SifreDt 356 (Finkelstein, p. 423). See also JerTaan 4:2 (68a) and Soferim 6:4 (Higger, p. 169). Josephus (*Ant.*, V, 61) mentions Scriptures laid up in the Temple.

¹⁶ Since *ma'on* was the characteristic name of the scroll, which was rejected from the official text, it should be called *Sepher Ma'on*, after its own peculiar reading (SifreDt has *Septer Ma'onim*). *Me'onah* is the official reading, found in our texts today. It was the reading found in the other two scrolls. It probably was slipped in here by someone who did not understand the distinction being made.

¹⁷ Schechter has "and in the other". Ms. R has a lacuna. I follow Ms. P.

¹⁸ Beth Ma'on is near the Sea of Galilee and Tiberias (Neubauer, *Géographie*, pp. 218-19).

(*za'atûte*) of the people of Israel" and the others had "And he sent young men (*na'are*) of the people of Israel. ... (Ex. 24:5)." They abandoned the former and adopted the latter.

Concerning the Book of Hy', everywhere that it had *hy'* written, they used to read *hw'*.¹⁹ And some say : There are eleven *hy'*-s in the Torah written with a yod. They abandoned the former and adopted the latter.

¹⁹ The point is not how they read (Qere) but what was written (Ketib). The phenomenon that seems to be involved at the base of the confusion is that in the Torah whenever the feminine pronoun "she" (*hy'*) is called for, the masculine *hw'* is written, but with the vocalization of the female form.

SifreDt says that this one scroll had nine cases when *hy'* was actually written and the other two had eleven cases. For the eleven cases of *hy'*, see Ch. 38 above and n. 45 there. From this passage in ARNB, it is not clear what was written in the one scroll as opposed to the other two.

CHAPTER FORTY-SEVEN

Concerning THREE prophets : One came to the defense of the father but not of the son;¹ one came to the defense of the son but not of the father; and one came to the defense of both the father and the son.

Elijah came to the defense of the father but not of the son, as Scripture says : "I have been very jealous for the Lord, the God of hosts (1 Ki. 19:10)."²

Jonah came to the defense of the son but not of the father, as Scripture says : "But Jonah rose to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord (Jon. 1:3)."³

Jeremiah came to the defense of both the father and the son, as Scripture says : "We have transgressed and rebelled, and you have not forgiven (Lam. 3:42)."

p. 130 THREE returned to their place of origin : Israel, the Torah, and the gold and silver.⁴

Israel was from beyond the river, as Scripture says : "Your fathers lived of old beyond the Euphrates, Terah, the father of Abraham and of Nahor. ... (Jos. 24:2)." Where does Scripture teach us that they returned to their place of origin ? It says : "But because our fathers had angered the God of heaven, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house and carried away the people to Babylon (Ez. 5:12)."

The Torah was from heaven, as Scripture says : "You have seen for yourselves that I have talked with you from heaven (Ex. 20:22)." Where does Scripture teach us that it returned to its place of origin ?

¹ The son is Israel. For a parallel, see *Mechilta* to 12:1 (Lauterbach, I, pp. 8-10). This chapter is composed entirely of groups of three. The first two groups concern Israel's exile or punishment at the hands of foreign kings.

² The verse continues to say that the Israelites seek Elijah's life. Then, in verse 15 (quoted by *Mechilta*) Elijah is told to anoint the king of Syria who will attack Israel.

³ Jonah did not want to prophecy the destruction or punishment of Israel, so he fled from God.

⁴ See A pp. 132-33 (G p. 172); *Mechilta* to 17:8 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 139-40); Pes 87b; *Yalkut* to Prov. 23:5; 960. All these parallels speak of the heavenly writing, rather than Torah; Pesahim explains that when Moses broke the tablets (Dt. 9:17), the writing returned to heaven. B has a verse for each item's going and for its returning. Other versions are defective. It is not clear whether B is the original form or a final and complete product. See Towner's Dissertation, pp. 120-27.

It says : "For suddenly it takes to itself wings, flying like an eagle toward heaven (Prov. 23:5)."

The silver and gold were from the land of Egypt, as Scripture says : "But each woman shall ask of her neighbor, and of her who sojourns in her house, jewelry of silver and of gold. ... (Ex. 3:22)." And where does Scripture teach us that they returned to their place of origin? It says : "So Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem; he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house. ... (2 Chr. 12:9)."

There are THREE things which Israel treated with contempt and (for that reason) they disappeared : prophecy, the kingdom of the house of David, and the Temple.

Where does Scripture teach us that they despised prophecy? It says : "But they kept mocking the messengers of God, despising his words, and scoffing at his prophets. ... (2 Chr. 36:16)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they despised the kingdom of David? It says : "We have no portion and inheritance in David (1 K. 12:16)."⁵ They said : David, you have nothing over us except for this house which you built, "and now look to your own house, David (1 Ki. 12:16)."

Where does Scripture teach us that they despised the Temple? It says : "Concerning this house which you are building, if you will walk in my statutes. ... (1 Ki. 6:12)." And if not, "then this house will become a heap of ruins; everyone passing by it will be astonished, and will hiss. ... (1 Ki. 9:8)."⁶

THREE both talk and act; THREE talk but do not act. Those who both talk and act are youth, wealth, and the hot season; those who talk but do not act are old age, poverty, and the rainy season.⁷

THREE have decreased (in number) since the study of Torah was increased. Demons have decreased; commotion has decreased; and evil-doers have decreased. Some say : Also the planting of cucumbers.⁸

⁵ This quote is a condensation of the Massoretic text.

⁶ Since the Temple has, in fact, been destroyed, then Israel must have despised it.

⁷ "Talk" seems to imply a desire to act. The first group, that is, those who are young or wealthy, are able to act on what they desire. The opposite is true of the old and poor.

The hot season and the rainy season (the two seasons of the year in the Palestinian area) do not fit into these two categories smoothly. The hot season is the time of the year that people cultivate the ground, travel, etc. and the rainy season stops most activity. Even with this understanding, the items do not fit into the list exactly.

⁸ Why are cucumbers (*mqs'wt*) mentioned? See A p. 81 (G p. 109) where cucumbers

THREE wept and the Holy One, blessed be He, heard their weeping, They are Hagar, Esau and Hezekiah.

Where does Scripture teach us about Hagar? It says: "She lifted up her voice and wept (Gen. 21:16)."⁹ And where do we learn that The Holy One, blessed be He, heard the sound of her weeping? Scripture says: "For God has heard the voice of the lad where he is. Arise, lift up the lad. ... (Gen. 21:17-18),"

"Esau lifted up his voice and wept (Gen. 27:38)." And because of the three tears¹⁰ which he shed Israel became engaged in wars,¹¹ as Scripture says: "You have fed them with the bread of tears, and given them tears to drink in triple measure (Ps. 80:6)."

Hezekiah wept, as Scripture says: "Remember now, O Lord, I beseech you, how I have walked before you in faithfulness and with a good heart, and have done what is good in your sight. And Hezekiah wept bitterly (2 Ki. 20:3)." Where do we learn that the Holy One, Blessed be He, heard his weeping? Scripture says: "I have heard your prayer, I have seen your tears; behold, I will heal you; on the third day you shall go up to the house of the Lord (2 Ki. 20:5)."

are connected with magic. Or perhaps the text is referring to abuses connected with the planting of late vegetables (*mqš'ut*). See Sheb 2:1 which deals with crops planted just before the Sabbatical year (when no cultivation is allowed.) The planting of late vegetables is regulated there.

⁹ Hagar wept in the wilderness because she was about to die with her son Ishmael.

¹⁰ See MidPs 80:6 (Braude, II, p. 50); Tan, *Kedoshim* 15; *Legends*, I, p. 339; V, p. 286, n. 104. Ps. 80:6, quoted below, has the word triple (*šališ*) which is interpreted to mean three tears. Why did Israel (the descendants of Jacob) become engaged in wars? In reparation for the tears Esau shed.

¹¹ See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, p. 426.

CHAPTER FORTY-EIGHT

RABBI SIMEON SAYS :¹ THERE ARE THREE CROWNS : THE CROWN OF TORAH, THE CROWN OF PRIESTHOOD, AND THE CROWN OF ROYALTY ; BUT THE CROWN OF A GOOD NAME MUST ACCOMPANY² THEM ALL.

The crown of Torah is the crown of Moses, as Scripture says : “Remember the law of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel (Mal. 3:22).”³

The crown of priesthood is the crown of Aaron, which it is impossible (for others) to attain,⁴ as Scripture says : “It is a covenant of salt forever before the Lord for you and for your offspring with you (Num. 18:19).”

The crown of royalty is the crown of David, as Scripture says : “Ought you not to know that the Lord God of Israel gave the kingship over Israel forever to David and his sons by a covenant of salt (2 Chr. 13:5) ?”

p. 131 The crown of a good name must accompany them all. Let everyone who merited Torah come and take it.⁵ Aaron merited the priesthood only by virtue of the Torah, as Scripture says : “For the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and men should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts (Mal. 2:7).” David merited royalty only by virtue of the Torah, as Scripture says : “This blessing has fallen to me, that I have kept your precepts (Ps. 119:56).”⁶

IF LOVE DEPENDS ON SOME SELFISH END,⁷ WHEN THE END FAILS, LOVE FAILS ; BUT WHAT LOVE DID NOT DEPEND ON A SELFISH END ?

¹ See PA 4:13b and the beginning of Ch. 41, the last chapter in ARNA (p. 130; G p. 169). The interpretation of the saying in A is different from here in that it is strongly oriented toward encouraging study of Torah. See Goldin, “Two Versions,” for this theme. PA 4:13a, the first part of the mishnah, occurs in Ch. 32.

² See Goldin, p. 219, n. 1 to Ch. 41. The translation “accompanying them,” justified there, seems to be the meaning presumed below in the interpretation.

³ Version A says that the crown of Torah belongs to everyone.

⁴ *š’y ’pšr lyg’ bw.*

⁵ As in Version A, Torah is now given to all, not restricted to Moses as in a previous paragraph. MhM, III, p. 225, completes the sentence : “...come and take the rest of the crowns.” Note that Torah has replaced the crown of a good name as the supreme good.

⁶ All is made to depend on the Torah in the end ; Torah’s preeminence is asserted.

⁷ Literally : dependent on something (*tlwyh bdbbr*).

THE LOVE OF DAVID AND JONATHAN.⁸ There is no love in the world that is troublesome⁹ except a woman's love.¹⁰

Rabbi Simeon says : Everyone who lets his daughter be married as a minor diminishes the increase of mankind, loses his wealth and ends up guilty of bloodshed.¹¹

p. 132 THREE¹² kinds of tears are bad for the eyes : tears because of smoke and tears because of the lance;¹³ and tears from grief are the worst of all. Some say : tears because of a large onion.

THREE kinds of tears are good for the eyes : tears because of leek plants and tears because of eye salve;¹⁴ and tears of laughter are better than both. Some say : tears because of a small onion.

THREE things nurture the body : old wine, fat meat and fine flour. Some say : also fowl.¹⁵

THREE¹⁶ things increase the sperm : garlic and eggs ; garden pepper cress¹⁷ and garden rocket.¹⁸

⁸ This is an abbreviated form of PA 5:16 and A p. 129 (Ch. 40, end ; G p. 168).

⁹ The Hebrew is *qšh*.

¹⁰ As usual in antiquity women do not fare well.

¹¹ In Nid 5:4 the case of a girl betrothed by intercourse at the age of three years and one day is treated. Yeb 12b, Ned 35b, Yeb 101b and Nid 13b all presume that a girl may be married at least before eleven. And in these texts such early marriage is condemned as a practice, though its legality is not challenged. A girl who was married as a minor could, upon reaching maturity, separate from her husband without a bill of divorce (see Yeb 13:1ff. for this practice called *mi'ūn*).

¹² A series of groups of three things affecting the body for good or ill follows. The six kinds of tears mentioned, three harmful and three healthy, are listed in different forms in Shab 151b-152a ; LamRab 2:15 ; and Aruch, *hsyl*, III, p. 454.

¹³ *dqr* (lance) is difficult. Probably it refers to a piercing or stinging substance put in the eye (as a medical cure ?). (I owe this suggestion to Leon Nemoy.) Aruch has the reading *qrr*, a root which means to "well forth". A note says that the first printing had the form *qbr*, tears shed at the grave. Schechter, in note 6, suggests this last reading. No form seems suasive to me.

¹⁴ See Krauss, *Archaeologie*, I, p. 260 : *qylwr* is the Greek *kollurion*, and Latin *collyrium* which is a salve, especially a liquid eye salve.

¹⁵ Pes 42a and b lists these three things as decreasing one's excrement (see below) and causing one's stature to be erect and eye clear.

¹⁶ Mss. H and P have : "four", the number of items in the list. However, these are all groups of three, so "four" and the fourth item are probably secondary.

¹⁷ See Ben Yehuda, XIV, 7023-24. Garden pepper cress (*lepidum sativum*) is an Asiatic annual herb cultivated for its leaves. The four items in this list (which is introduced by the numeral three ; Ms. H has "four") are included in a list of five items which produce impurity in a man in Yoma 18a and b.

¹⁸ See Krauss, *Archaeologie*, I, p. 260. Garden rocket (*eruca sativa*) is a European many-branched annual herb cultivated for salad.

THREE things decrease the sperm : barley bread, rue,¹⁹ and clover.²⁰

THREE things increase one's excrement : barley bread and black bread, new wine and greens.²¹

THREE things enter the body as they are :²² beans, lupine, and lentils. And some say : THREE other things also : sesame, the seeds of flax and date-berries.

There are THREE *'wqy'wt* ...²³ There are THREE wells in the world, two in the east and one throughout the rest of the world.²⁴

There²⁵ are TEN portions of creatures in the world, nine in the cracks²⁶ and one throughout the rest of the world.

There are TEN portions of sorcerers in the world, nine in Egypt and one throughout the rest of the world.²⁷

There are TEN portions of prostitution in the world, nine in Alexandria²⁸ and one throughout the rest of the world.

¹⁹ Ms. R (which Schechter misread as *hypqr*) and Ms. P both have *hpygm*. Note that actually four items are mentioned.

²⁰ Ms. R's reading, "resident alien" (*gr*) is odd in this context. Mss. H and P have *gd* and Schechter, note 9, suggests *gdgdnywt* (Aruch, II, pp. 241-42), a sweet melilot clover.

²¹ Pes 42a and b mention black bread, new beer and raw vegetables. Note that again four items are actually mentioned.

²² Ber 57b lists three things which do not benefit the body : melilot clover (see note 20), date-berries, and unripe dates (*pgy tmrh*).

²³ Ms. P has *'wqy'wt*. This might be the word for "ounces". See Ben Yehuda, I, p. 112 : thirteen of these units make one liter according to the Babylonian measure. See Schechter, note 12, who is probably correct in saying that some comment has been lost here. A slight emendation to *'wqynws* yields the statement : "There are three oceans." Ms. P adds the words *sl b'rut*.

²⁴ The wells referred to are not known (see Schechter, note 12). Perhaps these are are wells which bring waters from below the earth to fill rivers, etc. In Gen. 2:10-14 four great rivers are associated with the east (Mesopotamia).

²⁵ There now follow eleven paragraphs structured according to this pattern. The place with nine portions of a thing (90% of it) is, naturally, characterized by that thing.

²⁶ *sdqyn* means a split or crack (Levy, III, pp. 480-81 ; Ben Yehuda, VIII, p. 3968). The contrast seems to be between the many insects who live in cracks and fissures of houses, trees, etc., and animals which walk the earth.

²⁷ Sorcerers are probably associated with Egypt because they opposed Moses before Pharaoh (Ex. 7:11).

²⁸ Alexandria was a famous pagan city and so could be associated with all kinds of evil for Jews. Why it is specifically associated with prostitution is not clear. Since it was a famous center of learning, it might well have been associated with heresy. In Men 109b-11a mention is made of the altar of Onias built there (actually at Leontopolis) so it might well have been characterized as a center of idolatry.

There are TEN portions of splendor in the world, nine in Jerusalem and one throughout the rest of the world.²⁹

There are TEN portions of chastisement in the world, nine in Jerusalem and one throughout the rest of the world.³⁰

There are TEN portions of foolishness in the world, nine among the Babylonians³¹ and one throughout the rest of the world.

There are TEN portions of poverty³² in the world, nine in Lod and one throughout the rest of the world.

There are TEN portions of courage in the world, nine in Judah and one throughout the rest of the world.

There are TEN portions of wisdom in the world, nine in Jerusalem and one throughout the rest of the world, as Scripture says : "Go to the land of Moriah. ... (Gen. 22:2)." ³³

There are TEN portions of hypocrisy in the world, nine in Jerusalem and one throughout the rest of the world, as Scripture says : "For from the prophets of Jerusalem hypocrisy has gone forth into all the land (Jer. 23:15)." ³⁴

There are TEN portions of Torah in the world, nine in Jerusalem and one throughout the rest of the world, as Scripture says : "For out of Zion shall go forth Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem (Is. 2:3)."

p. 133 JUDAH BEN TEMA SAYS : BE STRONG AS THE LEOPARD, SWIFT AS THE EAGLE, FLEET AS THE GAZELLE, AND BRAVE AS THE LION, TO DO THE WILL OF YOUR FATHER WHO IS IN HEAVEN.³⁵ Similarly Scripture says :

²⁹ For the wonders associated with Jerusalem, see Ch. 39 above.

³⁰ The praise of Jerusalem is immediately followed by condemnation. This happens again below. The checkered record of Jerusalem and the people of Israel in following God's commandments (as reflected in the prophetic literature) probably underlies this pattern.

³¹ Babylonians are called fools or looked down upon by Palestinians in Bez 16a; Ket 75a; Yoma 66b; Ket 6b; BabKam 38a.

³² I follow Ms. P and Schechter's suggestion in n. 14. Ms. R has "transgression". Eliezer ben Hyrcanus has his school in Lod and other sages seem to have followed him there. It is a well-known geographical point.

³³ Mt. Moriah, which is the Temple site, is thought to come from the same root as *hwr'h* (instruction). Therefore, all instruction comes from Jerusalem, that is, all wisdom. See BerRab 55:7 (T-A, pp. 590-91); Tan 16a; PesRab 40 (Friedmann 169b; Braude, p. 714); SongRab 4:4; JerBer 4:5 (8c).

³⁴ Another paragraph condemning Jerusalem immediately follows one praising it.

³⁵ See PA 5:20a; A p. 133 (G p. 172); Pes 112a. Judah ben Tema is known only from this one mishnah in PA. (*Diqduqe Soferim* to Pesahim, note Sade, omits his name.)

“He fulfills the desire of all who fear him, he also hears their cry, and saves them (Ps. 145:19).”³⁶

- p. 134 Rabbi Eleazar said that Rabbi Hanina said : Scholars increase peace in the world, as Scripture says : “All your sons shall be taught by the Lord, and great shall be the peace of your sons (Is. 54:13).”³⁷

³⁶ *ršwn yr'gw y'sh* in Ps. 145:19 explains *l'swt ršwn 'byk* in Judah ben Tema's saying.

³⁷ This saying is found at the end of several tractates : Ber 64a; Yeb 122b; Naz 66b; Tamid 32b; Ker 28b. The word for sons (*bnk*) may remind the rabbis of a derivative of *byn*, to understand and so sons are identified with scholars.

APPENDIX I : ARNB Ch. 1, p. 8

THE TWELVE HOURS OF THE SIXTH DAY

The activities during the twelve hours of the day of man's creation are detailed in the twelve places listed below. For further material, see *Legends*, V, pp. 106-07, n. 97. Most of the variations in events assigned to the twelve hours concern the stages in the physical formation of the first man. One tradition begins with God conceiving the plan and then consulting the angels. Another begins with the collecting of the dust and proceeds immediately to the steps of formation. ARNB, Ch. 1 (p. 8) combines these two by putting collection of dust in the first hour and consulting the angels in the second hour. After this initial disagreement, both versions in ARNB are identical and different from the other versions. Both are unique in having two entries describing Adam's sin, "he sinned" and "he transgressed His commandment".

The versions, as they appear in the table, are :

LevRab 29:1. (Margulies, p. 669)

Tan, *Shemini*, 8

TanBub., *Lev.*, p. 31

TanBub, *Gen.*, p. 18

PesRab 46:2 (Friedmann, 187b; Braude, p. 781)

MidPs 92:3 (Braude, II, pp. 111-12)

ARNB Ch. 42 (p. 116)

ARNB Ch. 1 (p. 8)

ARNA Ch. 1 (p. 5)

ARNA Ch. 1 (p. 6)

PRE 11

Sanh 38b

The first five versions on the chart are very similar. MidPs, the sixth, has some unique peculiarities and perhaps some confusion (note that one item in the list is very probably out of order). ARNB, p. 116, has similarities to this first group by beginning with planning and consulting the angels. But then it and ARNB, p. 8, have kneading and shaping in common with the early group, as well as Eve being brought into the garden. ARNB stands between this first group and the second one (composed of ARNA in two versions, PRE and Sanh.) The second group begins with collecting the dust and also has the soul being breathed in and Adam being stood on his feet. The group has more variations than the first one.

These groupings are only convenient and they are rife with minor variations. The contents of the twelve hours of the first day must have been a very popular subject for speculation and consequently, many variations could easily enter. I do see two general trends at work in the two groups I have made. The two lists in ARNB are closer to group one, but have their own unique characteristics. Perhaps ARNB contains a third tradition. It seems that the compiler(s) used the same source in both places, changing only the first entry. I do not find any key which would tell us which group came first. Perhaps two traditions developed side by side, gradually mixing in later versions.

The beginnings of this list are found in Tan, Pequde, 3. The hour when man was created is mentioned in BerRab 8:1 (p. 55). ARNB, p. 116), has two short forms of this list, beginning with "On that day" and p. 8 has one. (ARNA, p. 6, does not number the hours in its list. Rather, it introduces each of the twelve items with "On that day".) Fascination with the stages of creation and the length of Adam's life in Eden seem to have prompted a huge amount of speculation and formulation.

APPENDIX II : ARNB Ch 37. p. 95

We record thirteen sources for the list of the things created at twilight. Some of the lists fall into a couple of groups with other lists relatively unique. Within the lists several groups of two or three items tend to move together. All lists are introduced by the number ten (except MechRS and SifreDt), even MidTan which has eleven items in the list proper. Many of the lists have additions introduced by "Some say" or by a Tanna's name. Tanhuma (*Wayyera*, 23) mentions, too, that there are ten things without listing them.

The lists fall into the following rough groups :

SifreDt 355 (Finkelstein, p. 418)

MechRS to Ex. 16:32 (p. 115)

Pes 54a

SifreDt and MechRS are identical. Very close to them are :

MidTan, p. 219

Lekah Tov to Ex. 16:33 (Wilna ed., 1884, p. 114)

And also related :

Mech to Ex. 16:31 (Lauterbach, II, pp. 124-25)

Seder Rabba di Bereshit (Wertheimer, I, p. 26, para. 14)

A second group (both identical) is :

PA 5:6

PRE 19

The following two later works have versions with groupings from the other lists, but no overall similarity in pattern :

Ma'ase Torah (Jellinek, II, p. 100)

Pirke Rabbenu Kadosh (Eisenstein, II, p. 513)

And finally ARNB and JerTarg I, Num. 22:28 have no close similarity in groupings or overall pattern to any of the lists or to each other.

The most common groupings within the lists are :

Rainbow	Rainbow	mouth of earth	writing	cave or Moses & Elijah
manna	manna	mouth of ass	stylus	tomb of Moses
well	staff		tablets	
			(sometimes the shamir precedes the list or is put in it.)	

In the additions to the list the tomb of Moses and ram of Isaac often occur together. Several Tannaim are constantly mentioned in the additions. Among them Josiah and Joshua seem to be the same tradition assigned to two similar names.

*ARNB**MechRS*
Sifre

ten

no number given

rainbow
comets (demons ?)
clouds
{ well
{ manna
{ staff
{ mouth of earth
{ mouth of ass
{ staff of Aaron
cave

{ rainbow
{ manna
{ well
{ writing
{ stylus
{ tablets
{ mouth of ass
{ mouth of earth
{ tomb of Moses
{ cave of Moses and Elijah
{ staff of Aaron with blossoms
Some: clothes of Adam
Some: robes
demons
Josiah (in father's name)
ram
shamir
Nehemiah: fire
mule
Judah: tongs (plus argument)

Some: tomb of Moses
ram of Abraham

Nathan: writing
stylus
tablets

Joshua: clothes of skin
shamir

Nehemiah: fire
mule

*MidTan**Seder Rabba di Ber*

re: cave of Moses
ten

ten

{ rainbow
 manna
 staff
 shamir
 writing
 stylus
 tablets
 { opening of mouth of earth
 opening of mouth of ass
 cave of Moses and Elijah
 cave of Moses (this is one of the ten)

{ mouth of ass
 mouth of well
 rainbow
 manna
 staff
 shamir
 writing
 stylus
 tablets
 (no tenth)

Some: demons

pillar of cloud

Some: mouth of earth

tomb of Moses

cave of Moses and Elijah

Josiah (in father's name):

ram

mule

clothes of Adam

Judah: tongs (plus argument)

Mech

re: manna

ten

{ rainbow
 manna
 staff
 { writing
 shamir
 tablets
 { opening of mouth of earth
 opening of mouth of ass
 tomb of Moses
 caves of Moses and Elijah

Some: clothes of Adam

staff of Aaron with blossoms

Pesahim

ten

{ well
 manna
 rainbow
 { writing
 stylus
 tablets
 { tomb of Moses
 caves of Moses and Elijah
 opening of mouth of ass
 opening of mouth of earth

Nehemiah (in father's name):

fire

mule

Joshua (in father's name):

ram

shamir

Judah: tongs

PRE
Abot

ten

{ mouth of earth
 { mouth of well
 { mouth of ass
 { rainbow
 { manna
 { staff
 { shamir
 { writing
 { stylus
 { tablets

Some: demons
 tomb of Moses
 ram of Abraham
 Some: tongs
 (half argument in PRE)

Ma'aseh Torah

ten

{ rainbow
 { manna
 { well
 { pillar of cloud
 { pillar of fire
 { writing
 { stylus
 { tablets
 { staff of Aaron
 { shamir

{ Some: demons
 { tomb of Moses
 { ram of Isaac

Lekah Tov

ten

Jer Targ I

re: mouth of ass
 ten

{ manna
 { well
 { staff of Moses
 { shamir
 { rainbow
 { precious clouds
 { mouth of earth
 { writing of first tablets
 { demons
 { mouth of ass

Pirke Rabbenu Kadosh

ten

{ manna
 { well
 { rainbow
 { writing
 { stylus
 { tablets
 { opening of mouth of earth
 { opening of mouth of ass
 { staff of Moses
 { staff of Aaron

Some: pillar of fire
 pillar of cloud
 demons
 tomb of Moses

{ rainbow
 { manna
 { staff
 { shamir
 { writing
 { tablets
 { mouth of earth
 { mouth of ass
 { tomb of Moses
 { ram of Isaac

Some: clothes of Adam

staff of Aaron

Some: tongs

ARNB is one of the mavericks among these lists. It does not closely resemble any other list and it has less internal organisation than many. For example, it separates the two staffs and has simply clouds (like the Targum). The additions after the list are very typical, however. It is difficult to say whether ARNB is earlier than Sifre, Mech, etc. or later. It would be odd for the groups of two and three within the lists to break down—they do not in later collections. JerTarg I, the other maverick version, also lacks the internal organization found in other lists. Yet the date of the Targums is disputed, so it cannot clarify the dating. I suspect, very tentatively, that ARNB and the Targum represent earlier versions of the list which were not changed under the influence of the forms found in the Tannaitic midrashim.

All the items in the list are remarkable or miraculous and none are supported by Scriptural texts in any of the versions. For this reason, members of the list easily multiplied and changed. W. Sibley Towner, *The Rabbinic Enumeration Form* (Unpub. Diss., Yale University, 1965), has done a precise form critical study of these kinds of lists, including this one (pp. 230-41). This list falls into category of gnomic lists which contain popular wisdom and are close to the secular uses of such lists (p. 252).

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